

Landslide gives Mrs Gandhi power to amend constitution

rs Indira Gandhi, triumphantly surveying her landslide victory in the Indian general election last night, said the people had realized their "big mistake" in ousting her almost three years ago. With 310 results in, Mrs Gandhi's party had

captured 239 seats against the Janata party's 13. She now appears sure of commanding sufficient votes in the lower house to amend the constitution, should she want to. She could also dissolve the state governments.

Indians realize 'big mistake' in ousting her three years ago

m Richard Wigg
hi, Jan 7
Mrs Indira Gandhi was wiggling a landslide victory in the Indian general election tonight. More than three quarters of the Lok Sabha seats so far voted for her party. Of the 310 results available, she had 239 against the Janata party's 13.
With her allies among the other groups, Mrs Gandhi was expected to command more than 500 votes in the Lower House to amend the Constitution, should she so desire.
The former Prime Minister recently justified her recourse to the 19-month emergency on grounds that the parliamentary system was not able to respond adequately to India's mounting needs.
Only a two-thirds majority required in the Lok Sabha to begin the amendment process, which Mrs Gandhi already initiated during her earlier term as Prime Minister.
She could also follow the present set by the Janata government in dissolving the state governments after the present election in order to leave an even greater concentration of power, perhaps in the name of stability, the great d fely by the Indian electors' time.
fr Surendra Mohan, the

Janata party's general secretary, conceded tonight that his party had no hope of victory. He pledged his party "to alert the people against any erosion of their democratic rights".
Mrs Gandhi's victory is even greater than that achieved in 1971 and this time not counting the support of regional allies like the Tamil DMK party and the Muslim group.
Mrs Gandhi won a personal victory in the handpicked Medak constituency in south India by a massive 219,000 majority and was ahead of the Janata contender in her old Rae Bareilly constituency in northern India by some 64,000 votes. Mr Sanjay Gandhi, her younger son, defeated the Janata sitting MP in the adjacent Amethi constituency, having been trounced by him three years ago.
The other parties' performances so far are: the anti-Mrs Gandhi Congress, 6—a result which caused Mr Devaraj Urs, the party's national president and Karnataka Chief Minister to resign today; Marxist Communist Party, 6; the Lok Dal Party of Mr Chauri Singh, 9; the Tamil Regional Party DMK, 13; Muslim League, 3; pro-Moscow Communist Party, 2.
This is a remarkable and highly personalized success with the voters for 62-year-old Mrs Gandhi, who campaigned like no other candidate.

None of her party's men was independently respected and many were young and untried.
However, a middle-class Delhi housewife told me: "It's a good thing. We need a stable government; this time has been terrible under the Janata." She echoed the former Prime Minister's own election emphasis on the stability she believes she uniquely can deliver to 600 million Indians.
Asking people their reasons for voting, Mrs Gandhi back so decisively, it was clear the similar sentiments were felt regardless of social status. For the poorer people the uncontrolled price rises during the past nine months seem to have



On her way back to power, Mrs Gandhi's expression reflects the election results.

done more damage to the two wings of the Janata party than any other factor among popular voters.
As one dedicated Janata supporter, who suffered under Mrs Gandhi's emergency, put it: "All the negative aspects of Janata's rule—or non-rule—have gone home very deeply with the Indian people."
Mrs Gandhi's residence at Willingdon Crescent here was the destination of well-wishers, old friends and place-seekers on a huge scale throughout the day. Mrs Gandhi indicated she would only make a full statement of her intentions for Government after all the results are in.
As she triumphantly surveyed

the results today, she said that the Indian people had realized their "big mistake" in ousting her almost three years ago.
Among Mrs Gandhi's most significant victories have been the capturing of 11 of the 13 seats so far in Gujarat, where Mr Morarji Desai's Janata base was supposed to be.
Twelve out of the thirteen Punjab seats, switched almost en bloc to her (despite Janata's concern for the farming lobby). In Karnataka, in the south, the Indira Congress has captured all fourteen of the seats declared so far—a crushing blow for Mr Devaraj Urs.
The electoral arithmetic behind the win, by 55,000

votes, of Mr Bansi Lal, Mrs Gandhi's former defence minister, in his old Haryana constituency emphasized the disaster for the Janata party.
Mr Lal won 41 per cent of the votes polled; together the Janata and the breakaway Lok Dal totted up more than 52 per cent of the poll.
So far, only Bombay, often described as "an island of prosperity in India", has returned five Janata MPs out of the city's six seats declared. But one of the party's best known sitters, members from the city saw his majority drop by more than 20 per cent.
Bernard Levin, page 10
Leading article, page 11

Steel peace talks fail and 'long, difficult and bitter' strike is forecast by Mr Len Murray

By Paul Routledge
Labour Editor
Peace talks aimed at ending the week-old national steel strike crashed in failure last night and Mr Len Murray, general secretary of the TUC, predicted a "long, difficult and bitter" stoppage. Employment in many other industries will be seriously affected.
After a day of shuttlecock movement between the headquarters of the British Steel Corporation and the offices of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, both sides reported breakdown in the wage negotiations, and a fourth union—the General and Municipal Workers—will make the strike official this morning.
In the hours of abortive negotiations, British Steel improved its pay offer to 8 per cent all round for 150,000 workers subject to a national agreement on reduced manning and flexibility of working practices, together with 4 per cent guaranteed productivity money to be negotiated at local level. BSC offered one advance lump sum quarterly bonus payment to get the scheme off the ground.
The collapse of talks will be

ON PAGE 2
Area picketing reports: Midlands, Port Talbot; Yorkshire; Shotton; Corby; Scotland.
Will steel stocks last?
The TUC's newly-established steel industry trade union co-ordinating committee, representing the four unions on strike, stuck to its demand for 13 per cent all round, 5 per cent of it "on account" before local productivity bargaining could begin. The unions did however pledge a "national commitment" to improve performance and offered to set up joint productivity committees at plant level to ensure that BSC got a genuine return for its money.
The sticking point between the two sides remains the Corporation's insistence that any increase should be self-financing through increased productivity. "We don't have the money to pay in any other way", Sir Charles Villiers, BSC chairman, said. "We cannot increase the price of steel."
The collapse of talks will be

reported today to Sir Keith Joseph, Secretary of State for Industry, but there is little likelihood of any early intervention by the Government in the dispute.
After the 10 hours of talks, the TUC general secretary said the unions had put forward their peace proposals to no avail. "There is no alternative as I see it to a long, difficult, and bitter strike which the unions have not sought".
So the strike ends its first week with the two sides further apart than when the original 2 per cent pay offer was made last month. BSC laid down its position firmly last night: "A pay agreement tied to increases in efficiency in the industry, arising from a national agreement intended to be self-financing and from the proposed local lump sum bonus scheme, is essential to the competitiveness of the industry and to job security within it."
The corporation estimates that the 110-a-week rise in wages would see its wages rise to a minimum of £122 at least during the one-year lifetime of its proposed agreement.

Japan 898 tonnes a man, BSC 141

By Peter Hill
Industrial Editor
Productivity at two of Japan's modern steelmaking plants last year was between three and six times greater than that at British Steel Corporation plants.
Figures being studied by the National Economic Development Council's iron and steel sector working party underline the difference.
At the Kimitsu plant of Nippon Steel output per man was 409.8 tonnes. The plant produced a total of 6.78 million tonnes with a total labour force of 16,544. Measured in terms of the 7,544 direct employees at the plant output per man totalled 898.7 tonnes. BSC's output last year was 141 tonnes per man.

Nippon Steel's Oita plant, with 7,500 workers split evenly between direct and sub-contract employees, achieved an overall productivity of 866.6 tonnes per man on production of 6.5 million tonnes.
Productivity measured only on the 3,700 direct employees was 1,756 tonnes per man.
Last year Japanese steel production was about 112m tonnes. The Japanese industry has either closed or mothballed 25m tonnes of steelmaking capacity in the past three years because of the general fall in world steel demand, but the industry is now back in profit.
BSC, which is basing its medium-term strategy on reducing existing capacity by 6m

tonnes to a total of 15m tonnes, coupled with a reduction in its labour force of about 33,000, is basing its drive for improved productivity on European levels of output per man.
When the present cutbacks are completed, BSC expects output per man to rise to about 165 tonnes compared with 141 tonnes last year, and 152 tonnes in its best year, 1972.
In the large integrated plants, including Ravenscraig in Scotland and Redcar on Teesside, the hope is that the slimmed down corporation will be able to boost productivity (aided by internationally competitive manning levels) to around 250 tonnes per man year. That would be much closer to current output in West Germany and France.

Pronouncing judgment over Kabul

By Kenneth Gosling
The Afghanistan crisis has led to a minor difference of opinion in broadcasting circles over how the country's capital should be pronounced.
It must have surprised those people used to saying it with the accent on the second syllable to hear BBC newsreaders coming out with Kabul and Independent Television News announcing Khor-bul.
The organization yesterday gave their reasons for laying down the law in rather different ways.
The BBC pronunciation unit, whose word is law within the BBC, ruled a couple of years ago that Khor-bul was correct having recommended up to that time that Khor-bul was right.
The latter pronunciation was the way the Army in India, getting it from the Pathans, used to say it. "In fact, all three are given in dictionaries as acceptable", an official said. "But we checked with the Afghan Embassy and with the Afghan National Bank in London and they assured us that Khor-bul was the most acceptable of the three anglicizations."
BBC newswriters and staff announcers are obliged to follow the unit's rulings. However, it admits there may still be a few maverick presenters and correspondents whom the new ruling will not reach.
Khor-bul may sound more like a ball game but ITN defends that choice.
"We also checked with the Afghan Embassy", they said. "But we also have the evidence of our own reporters."
Whichever of the three pronunciations you prefer, the controversy (or controversy) is bound to continue.

Afghans fight Russians in five provinces

Kabul, Jan 7.—Soviet troops are meeting armed resistance from Muslim insurgents in at least five Afghan provinces, according to diplomatic sources here.
Russian paratroops are believed to have been dropped into the province of Badkhash, which borders the Soviet Union, Pakistan, and China.
Russians were also involved in fighting with rebels in the provinces of Pakia, Herat, Kandahar, and Kunduz.
Around Kabul the Russians are digging in as if they expect an attack. Trenches and fortified camps protected by anti-aircraft guns have sprung up around the main roads into the capital.
It was announced today that President Babrak Karmal would hold a press conference especially for Western journalists on Wednesday. They will be able to ask any questions, officials said.—Reuters, UPI and Agence France-Presse.
Soviet veto: The Soviet Union tonight vetoed a Security Council resolution calling for the immediate, unconditional withdrawal of "all foreign troops"—meaning the Soviet contingents—from Afghanistan. (Michael Leapman writes from New York).
Mr Oleg Troyanovsky, the Soviet Ambassador, said that the Russians would veto the resolution which was presented by Bangladesh, Jamaica, Niger, the Philippines and Zambia.
By not mentioning the Soviet Union by name the resolution ensured the support of the non-aligned nations in the council.
Speakers from developing countries have voiced their concern that they were usually the main victims of a deterioration in relations between East and West. That was why they were anxious to cool the inflammatory rhetoric of the more extreme draft resolution that had been circulated.
It was clear that the Soviet armed intervention had reduced the Russians' standing among uncommitted countries.
Pakistan "worried" and photograph, page 5

Adamson death treated as murder

m Charles Harrison
robi, Jan 7
The Kenyan Police Commissioner, Mr Ben Githi, said here today that the death of Joy Adamson, author of *Born Free*, is being treated as murder.
Three Kenyans, former employees of Mrs Adamson, were interviewed, he said.
At first the Austrian-born Adamson, aged 69, was reported to have been killed by lion while walking near her lion camp in the Shaba Game reserve, 250 miles north of Nairobi.
Doubts about the original report were raised at the week-end when it was learned there were no claw marks on the lion's paw prints. A post-mortem examination in Nairobi disclosed wounds to the shoulder and side not consistent with an attack by a lion.
Detectives flew to the Shaba Game Reserve and President Daniel arap Moi announced the weekend that "certain facts" about the death had led to light.
The latest developments have used widespread shock here. Ellis Monks, Wildlife Director of the World Wildlife Fund, and a director of Elsa Adamson, said: "I am outraged than shocked. It is so needless."
An instrument: "Informed sources in Nairobi said that the Kenyans helping the police were mer employees that Mrs Adamson had dismissed.
Police officials said that the opsy showed that Mrs Adamson had been killed by a sharp instrument, probably a simi- can knife which resembles a word.
According to neighbours of Shaba reserve, Mrs Adamson recently had a run of bad luck, including a fire at the up which was thought to be on.—UPI.

Central banks rule out sale of gold reserves

Western central bank governors have ruled out a concerted sale of gold reserves to end the speculative rush of funds on the world's bullion markets.
The idea, put forward by the president of the Swiss National Bank, founded when it received no support from the West German Federal Bank and the Bank of France. Gold

soared in price again in London after new records were set overnight in Hongkong. However, there was two-way trading in the metal and the markets showed no sign of the hectic trading of last week. The metal slipped during the afternoon in London and closed at \$630, \$40 up on Friday but below the peak of last week's increases.
Page 13

Emphasis urged on maths

Pupils' work in secondary schools should be related to the skills required for adult life and employment, a government document on a national "core" school curriculum says.
The paper emphasizes the importance of mathematics and English which, it says, should be taught to all pupils throughout their schooling and which should take up not less than 20 per cent of school time. Science should be taught for all primary school pupils and should continue until the age of 16, the document says.
Page 3

Call to speed up new technology

The most comprehensive criticism of Britain's failure to come to terms with technological change was published by the Government's Advisory Council for Applied Research and Development. It said that the rapid development of new industries was vital for the nation's industrial future.
Page 13

Troubled agenda at Aswan

The turmoil in Iran and Afghanistan are high up on the agenda at the summit meeting between President Sadat and Mr Begin, Israel's Prime Minister, which opened at Aswan in Egypt.
Page 4

Ford accused: The Ford Motor Company faces a charge of homicide in a unique court case in Indiana

Classified advertisements: Appointments, 8, 11, 14; Sale room and antiques, 18; Personal, 18, 19, 20.
Obituary, page 12
Professor R. Teywyn Williams, Mr Raymond Mays
Sport, pages 6, 7
Football: Nottingham Forest drawn to meet Liverpool in FA Cup; Rugby Union: First England cap for Philip Blakey RFL president speaks out on Lions tour; Tennis: Tracy Austin beats Christine Lloyd for fourth successive time; Hockey
Business News, pages 13-18
Stock Market: Equities maintained their technical rally with gold shares featuring strongly; gilt was mainly quiet; the FT index closed 6.0 up at 419.5
Financial Editor: The argument about building society funds; an imaginative route for Globe

Stormont talks rapidly run into trouble

From Christopher Thomas
Belfast
The Government's constitutional conference on power devolution to Northern Ireland ran into deep trouble last night within hours of being launched at Stormont.
Roman Catholic political leaders claimed they were being prevented from discussing the devolution of Irish unity could not be permitted.
SDLP sources made it clear that unless Mr Atkins modifies his position the party will walk out.
Despite strenuous attempts by Stormont officials to prevent the conference as a going concern, it is clear that it is in grave danger of breaking up in bitterness and disarray. Earlier in the day government officials were talking optimistically of perhaps introducing a White Paper to Parliament at Easter on an agreed way forward.
If the conference collapses it is the Government's firm intention to introduce its own proposals to introduce a new policy, that of Irish unity. There is no dispute over whether any of the parties should be allowed to make what suggestions they like, but there is sharp disagreement over which issues should be allowed for discussion.
It appears that Mr Atkins, with the obvious agreement of the Rev Ian Paisley, of the Democratic Unionists, said that discussion of Irish unity could not be permitted.
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Continued on page 2, col 7

Patriotic Front commanders threaten to shoot guerrillas who ignore truce call

From Nicholas Ashford
Salisbury, Jan 7
Two senior Patriotic Front guerrilla commanders today ordered any guerrillas who had not so far reported to an assembly area to do so immediately.
The two men—Mr Rex Nkhongu, deputy commander of Zanla, and Mr Dumiso Dabengwa, military chief of Zippa—also declared that the 20,000 guerrillas now in assembly areas were part of the legal defence forces and therefore were being placed at the disposal of Lord Soames, the Governor.
Mr Dabengwa said that guerrillas in assembly areas would turn their guns on their comrades if they did not obey the truce call. He estimated there were between 2,000 and 3,000 guerrillas who had not reported to assembly areas.
In a prepared statement the two commanders ordered guerrillas remaining in the field to report to the nearest police station, party office or mission station where arrangements would be made for their transportation to an assembly area. If these orders were disobeyed then guerrillas who continued to fight would place themselves "outside our command and you must face the consequences of your action".
It was vital, the statement

said, that the ground was cleared for free political activity and the Patriotic Front turn its attention to the construction of a new Zimbabwe.
"We have fought for our country and we have won the right for free and fair elections. We now want to see the immediate transformation from war to total peace."
The two leaders said they had reluctantly decided to call a press conference in order to clear the name of the Patriotic Front from the smears and allegations being made against it.
They impressed journalists with their sense of authority and the moderation of their language which contrasted with a heated statement made earlier in the day by Mr Enos Nkomo, the senior political leader of Mr Robert Mugabe's Zanu organization at present inside the country.
Earlier in the day Mr Nkhongu and Mr Dabengwa had talks with Sir Anthony Duff, the Deputy Governor, at which they expressed their disquiet about a number of aspects of the ceasefire arrangements.
These included the different way the guerrillas who assembled now were being treated compared with those who assembled during the seven-day assembly period; the presence of South African

troops on the Rhodesian side of the Limpopo river at Beitbridge; and the continued deployment of security force auxiliaries in protected villages and other rural areas.
Asked if they had made a protest to Sir Anthony Dabengwa replied: "Soldiers do not protest, they only make their position known. We have advised the Governor."
A British spokesman said there had been no serious military incidents since the ceasefire came into force.
However, a conflict between Zanla and security forces was narrowly avoided this afternoon when a group of 400-500 Zanla guerrillas refused to lay down their arms when ordered to do so. The matter was eventually resolved when Mr Nkhongu sent an order telling them to lay down their arms.
Although the Patriotic Front's military leaders were restrained in their criticism of Lord Soames' handling of the ceasefire arrangements, the political leaders have been more outspoken. Mr Joseph Msika, Zazu's General Secretary who arrived back in Rhodesia from Zambia today, accompanied by 88 Zazu officials, condemned the Governor's decision to use Rhodesian troops to help maintain law and order.
Flexible approach brings success, page 4

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HOME NEWS

Pickets being drawn into West Midlands to prevent the movement of steel stocks

By Clifford Webb
Midlands Industrial Correspondent

The main steel union, the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, is rushing more pickets from South Wales and Yorkshire to step up picketing of steel stockholders in the West Midlands, probably the strongest steel stockholding area in the country.

Last night Mr Michael Leahy, a Midlands official of the ISCT, said: "Our strike com-

mittees have decided to step up the picketing of the private sector, particularly steel stockholders, where we have reason to believe they are taking over British Steel Corporation orders."

Pickets have been installed since Friday at Ductile Steels, Willenhall, one of the largest rolling and stockholding groups in the Midlands. Yesterday the company gave a warning that unless they were removed within 48 hours sev-

eral of the group's works would have to close.

Mr N. T. Dukes, group works director, said: "We are not getting steel in or out despite an assurance that we are not taking on BSC work. We are very concerned by the conflicting statements made by Mr Sims, who says that the private sector will be left alone, and members of his executive who have other ideas. They are apparently trying to make an example of us because we are one of the biggest."

Elsewhere in the region picketing appeared to be haphazard and confused. Firms reported that pickets appeared at their gates but left when local shop stewards intervened to point out that they were not producing or using BSC steel.

The ISCT is trying to prepare a big demonstration to greet Sir Keith Joseph, the Secretary of State for Industry, when he visits Birmingham on Friday.

Port Talbot: Fighting at the gate

From Tim Jones
Cardiff

Striking steelworkers at Port Talbot last night blamed militant political extremists for fighting that broke out at the main gate to the huge plant. The trouble started when militant striking craftsmen, white-collar workers and management representatives tried to walk through 200 pickets who blocked the road.

About 4,000 of the 12,500

workers at the plant, which is due to close completely tomorrow, are not on strike.

Mr Thomas Fellows, an Iron and Steel Trades Confederation branch chairman, said the scuffles were started by people who had no connexion with the steel works.

The trouble is, you never know exactly who they are. They have offered us help, but we don't want it. We escorted these people off the picket line."

Mr Fellows said they had reported to the police a man who appeared to be inciting violence.

A British Steel Corporation representative said: "There were certainly physical efforts to restrain people from going in."

Mr Ian Kelsall, director of the Wales CBI, said that secondary picketing was widespread in South Wales yesterday.

Confidence that output will continue

By Peter Hill
Industrial Editor

Despite the stepping up of picketing by striking steelworkers in various parts of the country, the British Iron and Steel Consumers' Council, the consuming industries watchdog organization, claimed last night that companies were still confident that they could live off their stocks.

"There are few indications of effective picketing, and companies have sufficient stocks to keep going for several weeks,"



Hunt for schoolboy: Scotland Yard yesterday issued this artist's impression of Martin Allen, aged 15, the London schoolboy missing since November 5, and of a man believed to have abducted him. Twenty police officers yesterday joined the team searching for the boy, the son of the chauffeur to the Australian High Commissioner. They began visiting every address in Earl's Court, where the boy was last seen. The police will leave a copy of the picture at each address and hope to get in touch with at least 40,000 people. Det. Chief Inspector David Veness, of Kensington CID, who is leading the inquiry, said the hunt would last a fortnight.

South Yorkshire: Clamp on private works

From Ronald Kershaw
Sheffield

Picketing was extended to 40 private steel companies in the South Yorkshire region yesterday and plans are in hand for setting up secondary picketing as time goes on, Mr Edward Thorne, secretary of the South Yorkshire strike committee, said last night.

There were few incidents,

although a picket was knocked down by a lorry but not seriously injured.

Militant strikers converged on the Rotherham headquarters of the strike committee yesterday demanding that their union leaders settle for no less than a 20 per cent pay increase.

South Yorkshire seems to be the northern centre of unrest in that dispute. At Scunthorpe,

Teesside and Durham the strike appears to be conducted in an orderly, even gentlemanly manner while at Sheffield and Rotherham pickets appear to be on the offensive.

At Donford Hadfield, alloy and carbon steelmakers at Sheffield, about 30 pickets prevented two lorries laden with scrap from entering the private works and stopped one steel-laden lorry leaving.

The organization said: "There are few indications of effective picketing, and companies have sufficient stocks to keep going for several weeks."

Mr Robert Atkinson, chairman of Aurora Holdings, said some of the company's factories, though picketed, had stocks for at least two weeks.

Shotton: 200 in round-the-clock picket

By R. W. Shakespeare
Northern Industrial Correspondent

A round-the-clock picket of 200 men was operating yesterday at the Shotton steel works. On the night, where iron and steel making is to cease in March, with the loss of 6,400 jobs.

Pickets from the steel plant

visited the premises of the George Meyers haulage company at Salway, which stores and transports steel for the British Steel Corporation. Afterwards the company announced that it was suspending operations and laying off its seven drivers rather than risk retaliation later.

BSC plans to retain its cold

rolling operations at Shotton, but its labour force of 4,200 may have to be trimmed.

Strikers at Shotton have run into a cash dilemma. They could not draw wages owing to them last week because the plant's pay clerks, who belong to the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation, have joined the

18 centres for strikers' claims

Eighteen special social security centres are expected to open in the next two days to meet steel strikers' claims. The first payments, expected this week, will cover only dependants. Work has begun at the centres. They are at:

Wales: Newport, Carmarthen, Bridgend, North Wales, Ebbw Vale, Rhondda, Merthyr Tydfil, Cardiff, Swansea, Gwent, Newport, South Wales, and Trawsfynydd (two).

Corby: Tempers rise

From Nicholas Timmins
Corby

Tempers rose on the picket line at Corby yesterday and one man was arrested as steelworkers were out in force to try to prevent entry to the plant by a small number of steelworkers.

The Iron and Steel Trades Confederation pulled out its last 60 safety men at the plant when the management refused to send home the 90 or so ISCT members still crossing the picket lines.

Mr Michael Skelton, ISCT strike coordinator at the plant, said the management was now "encouraging" those members still in to go home, and safety cover would be restored if they did so. "We have also promised the management that if there is any emergency we will obviously go in and cover," he said.

Scotland: Firms are spared

From Our Correspondent
Glasgow

There will be no picketing by the Transport and General Workers' Union of private steel stockholders in Scotland. That was decided in Glasgow yesterday by the commercial trade group of the union.

Its secretary, Mr Peter Talbot, said: "We have no quarrel with private stockholders at the moment. Any action by us will be only against the British Steel Corporation. My members are being advised accordingly."

The union's Scottish docks group which also met in Glasgow yesterday, decided to stop movement of all steel cargoes, raw materials and products in and out of Scottish ports.

Mr James Gilligan, docks group secretary, said delegates representing branches from the Orkney islands to Ayrshire made that decision in support of the Iron and Steel Trades Confederation. His group, representing 5,000 docks, would picket ports.

Pay dispute set to disrupt Heathrow flights

By Our Labour Reporter

British Airways flights from Heathrow airport, London, are likely to be disrupted from Thursday morning because of a pay dispute involving 11,000 engineering and maintenance staff.

They have rejected an offer of an extra 14 per cent on basic rates and as mass meetings decided to start industrial action, including an overtime ban and one shift not reporting for work each day. The action is to start at 6.30 am on Thursday and continue until 2 pm on Saturday.

Only 37 out of 2,820 'police assaults' went to court

By a Staff Reporter

Only 37 of 2,820 alleged assaults by the police that were investigated by the Director of Public Prosecutions in 1978 came before the courts, according to official figures released yesterday.

The director's office said that there were convictions in 16 of the 37 court cases and 21 acquittals. Of the remaining complaints alleging police assaults, 2,454 were referred back to chief constables for investigation.

Man questioned after end of house siege

By David Nicholson-Lord

A man was being questioned by police in north London last night after a 10-hour siege of a terrace house in Tottenham. Earlier a man barricaded himself into the house with a gun.

The siege ended at 10.30 yesterday morning after four members of Scotland Yard's D11 firearms squad climbed in through a side window.

Earlier yesterday an unarmed policeman had rescued a boy who had locked himself in a room in the house. Inspector Anthony Laffan, aged 30, borrowed a ladder and climbed to a first-floor window, where he persuaded Constable Philipides, aged 14, to follow him to safety.

British Airways said last night that it was too early to say what effect the action will have on flights, but contingency plans had been made to minimize the inconvenience.

More money would be available if the unions agreed to talks on productivity.

The figures were released amid mounting criticism of the decision last week by Sir Thomas Hetherington, the Director of Public Prosecutions, not to prosecute any police officers over the death last year of Mr James Kelly after his arrest by Merseyside police.

They show that complaints of police assaults forwarded to the

director increased from 1,093 in 1976 to 2,820 in 1978. There were 13 prosecutions and seven convictions, to the 1978 figure of 2,820.

The figures will add to the increasingly acrimonious debate about the role of the director in recent cases involving allegations of police assault, notably the deaths of Mr Kelly, aged 33, and Blair Peach, the teenager killed during last year's Southall demonstration, and Mr Little Towers in the North-East.

Several Labour MPs have demanded an overhaul of the system.

Relatives of Mr Kelly, who said last week that they were shocked and disgusted at the director's decision, added yesterday that they wanted Mr William Whitelaw, the Home Secretary, to order a public inquiry.

Letter, page 11

Fraud plot charge against Lord and Lady Kagan

From Arthur Osman
Leeds

Committal proceedings, which are expected to last between three and four weeks, began in Leeds yesterday against Lady Kagan, one of her sons, three business associates and two companies.

Lord Kagan, the head of Kagan Textiles Ltd, of Eiland, West Yorkshire, who was named in some of the charges, was not present and is believed to be living abroad.

A total of 20 different charges allege that offences were committed between June, 1974, and December, 1978. All eight defendants are accused of conspiring to defraud the Inland Revenue. Lady Kagan, Michael Kagan, the Ginsburgs and Mr Kennedy are charged with conspiring to export cloth.

Lady Kagan, the Ginsburgs, Celloform (Yorkshire) Ltd and Mr Kennedy are each accused with Lord Kagan of prohibited exporting.

Reporting restrictions were not lifted and the hearing continues today. Evidence is expected to be given by 86 witnesses.

The defendants are Lord Kagan, aged 64, and Lady Kagan, aged 55, of Fyke, Huddersfield; Michael George Kagan, aged 28, of Barkisdale Hall, Barkisdale, near Halifax; Raymond Kennedy, aged 53, of Wedgwood Drive, Roundhay, Leeds; Waldemar Ginsburg, of Hull; Eiland, his wife, Holsy, Ginsburg, of the same address; Celloform (Yorkshire) Ltd, of Helm Mills, Rastrick, near Halifax, and Kagan Textiles Ltd, of Eiland.

The hearing is before Mr Ian Boyd, the Hall's principal magistrate. It was felt that a magistrate who did not hold a local appointment should hear the case in the interests of justice. Mr F. D. L. Loy, the Leeds stipendiary magistrate, is sitting in Hull.

Ship shops may be sunk

By Our Planning Reporter

Attempts to preserve parts of the historic "ship shops" in Portsmouth naval dockyard for recreation and display elsewhere appear to be doomed for lack of funds.

The ship shops, which date from 1843, are said to be the earliest arched iron buildings in the world; the same form of structure was used eight years later in the Crystal Palace.

The buildings, which cover four acres of slipway, are not listed, and are to be replaced by new Admiralty premises. A demolition contract was awarded to Bovis last November.

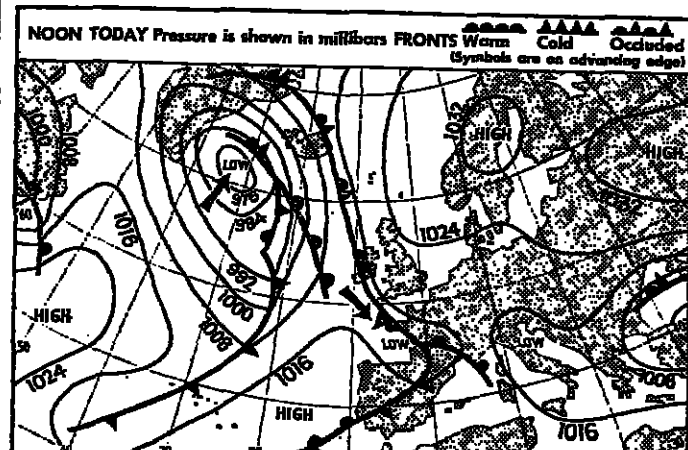
Mr John Warren, of the Southern Industrial History Museum, Amberley, West Sussex, has offered a site for the reconstruction of whatever parts of the ship shops can be salvaged.

Princes get bail of £15,000 each on drug charge

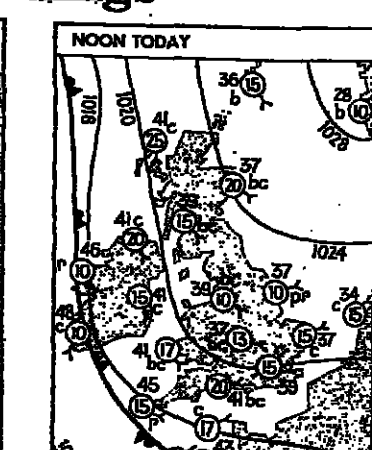
Two Kuwaiti princes and their cousin, who were charged with being concerned in the smuggling of an estimated £150,000 of cannabis resin through Heathrow airport, London, were granted bail of £15,000 each at Marylebone Magistrates' court, London, yesterday.

Prince Saad al-Sabah, aged 25, a lawyer, his brother, Prince Anwar, aged 27, a law student, and their cousin, Talal Mubarak, aged 23, also a student, who were staying at Cambridge Square, Paddington, were all granted bail until today week. They must report twice daily to police, and surrender their passports.

Weather forecast and recordings



Today
Sun rises: 8.5 am
Sun sets: 4.10 pm
Moon rises: 10.57 am
Moon sets: 10.49 pm
Last quarter: January 10.
Lighting up: 4.40 pm to 7.34 am.
High water: London Bridge, 5.12 am, 6.54 pm, 11.8 am, 10.53 pm, 11.4 am, Dover, 2.16 am, 6.30 am, 2.33 pm, Hull, 9.42 am, 6.30 am, 8.11 pm, 2.48 pm, 8.2 am, 11.3 am, 3.28 pm, 11.3 am, 3.28 pm.



Yesterday
Temp: max 6 am to 6 pm, 8°C (46°F); min 6 pm to 6 am, 5°C (41°F). Humidity, 6 pm, 76 per cent. Rain, 24hr to 6 pm, 4.6 mm. Sun, 24hr, 1.5 hr. High or low, mean sea level, 6 pm, 1,020.3 millibars, rising.
1,000 millibars = 29.53 in.

Make a move

Three pieces from an early 19th century Indian ivory chess set which was sold at Sotheby's Belgravia for £1,550.

Sets (whether chess or backgammon) or single pieces are now being accepted for the next auction being held in the Spring at the same times as the specialised European and Oriental Ivory sale.

For further information telephone or write, sending a clear photograph, to David Battie.

Sotheby's Belgravia
19 Motcomb Street, London SW1X 8LB
Telephone: (01) 235 4311 Telex: 24454 SBPLONG
Telegrams: Gavel, London

Education project chosen as Mountbatten memorial

By Craig Seton

The creation of a Mountbatten Institute to promote the support the United World Colleges and aid technological research for the benefit of handicapped and distressed people has been chosen as a permanent memorial to Lord Mountbatten of Burma.

The institute is the idea of the Mountbatten Memorial Trust, which was established shortly after his death. For several months the trust, under the chairmanship of the Prince of Wales, has been deciding on the best way to commemorate Lord Mountbatten.

the institute's main aims were to promote the interests closest to Lord Mountbatten. Since the trust was established thousands of donations had been made, but the total raised had not been made public yet.

The work of the United World Colleges, a group of international sixth-form colleges, took up much of Lord Mountbatten's time in the last years of his life.

Conceived by the late Dr Kurt Hahn and Air Marshal Sir Laurence Davall, the first of the colleges, for pupils of all races, was established in 1962 at St Donat's Castle, in South Wales. There are also colleges in Singapore and Vancouver.

Mr John Barratt, the trust's secretary, said yesterday that

The Kuwait Embassy states that the three brothers have no connexion with the Kuwait ruling family.

The extension and the study centre comprise the first building project of consequence for the display of a nationally important collection of paintings and sculptures to be undertaken outside London since the war.

Start soon on 'imaginative' art gallery

By Our Arts Reporter

Work is to begin this month on an extension to Leeds City Art Gallery, a scheme described by the Arts Council, which has provided £150,000, as the most imaginative to come before it.

The extension includes a sculpture exhibition on the roof, a public house in the basement and a craft centre. It is also hoped to open at the same time, in October next year, the Henry Moore Sculpture Study Centre, for the first phase of which the Moore Foundation has given £10,000.

Henry Moore is to lay the

هكذا من العمل

HOME NEWS

Mathematics and English teaching get priority in proposals aimed at national core curriculum

By Diana Geddes
Education Correspondent

A surprisingly specific set of recommendations for a national core curriculum is set out by the Secretary of State for Education and Science and the Secretary of State for Wales in a consultation document, on a framework for the school curriculum, published yesterday.

As expected, the document gives pride of place to mathematics and English, which it says should be taught to all pupils throughout the period of compulsory schooling. Each subject should take up not less than 10 per cent of school time. Work in secondary schools should be related to the skills required for adult life and employment.

Science should begin for all pupils in primary school (age not specified) and should continue until the age of 16, taking up in the later stages not less than 10 per cent and not more than 20 per cent of school time.

In the early stages the emphasis should be on the sciences of science, and broad courses embracing elements of physics, chemistry and biology should continue until at least the age of 13. Attention should be paid to the industrial and practical applications of science.

Contrary to widespread predictions and hints from Mr Mark Carlisle, the Secretary of State, the document does not suggest that all pupils should

study a modern language up to the age of 16, but rather that they should have the opportunity to study at least one foreign language, and that some should be able to learn more.

In general, pupils should have a minimum of two, and preferably three, years of foreign language teaching, amounting to about 10 per cent of school time during those years. It is not considered desirable for pupils to devote more than 20 per cent of school time to foreign languages.

Religious education, as required by the Education Act, 1944, should continue to be a compulsory part of the curriculum for all pupils, the document says. However, the Secretaries of State consider it right, as is commonly the case, for religious education to be linked with the wider consideration of personal and social values.

In addition to these core subjects, the following areas should, at one stage, all be incorporated into every child's education: the arts, including music and drama; history and geography; either as separate or integrated subjects; moral and health education, preparation for parenthood and family life; careers education and vocational training, beginning not later than the third year in secondary school; and preparation for a participatory role in adult society which most people would describe as political education.

The document suggests a

possible check-list of broad values against which a school's curriculum might be tested, such as: helping pupils to develop lively, inquiring minds, and the ability to question and argue rationally; helping pupils to acquire knowledge and skills relevant to adult life and employment; instilling respect for religious and moral values; helping pupils to appreciate human achievements and aspirations; and developing an understanding of the interdependence of individuals, groups and nations.

The Government's proposals will be discussed with the interested parties within and beyond the education sector during the early months of this year, leading to the publication of a new document "providing guidance for local education authorities, schools and teachers".

The National Union of Teachers, which in the past has been hostile to the idea of Government interference in the curriculum, said that the recommendations were already common practice in most schools; where they were not, it was due to a shortage of resources and specialist teachers. The union was seriously worried, however, about gearing the curriculum to "national needs". Who would define what those needs were? A framework for the school curriculum (Department of Education and Science, Elizabeth House, York Road, London, SE1 7PB, free).

Children 'Labour's pawns' in assisted places dispute

By Our Education Correspondent

A strongly worded counter-attack on the Labour Party's claim that the Government's proposed assisted places scheme was delivered by Mr Mark Carlisle, Secretary of State for Education and Science, in Leicester last night.

Speaking at a dinner of the Milbank Club, Mr Carlisle said that the Labour Party had chosen to attack the scheme on a party political basis, regardless of the fact that it was underprivileged children who would gain most from the scheme.

The Conservative Government continued to be concerned for all people, he said, and was

therefore proud to be introducing a scheme to extend the opportunity of highly academic education, available in the top independent schools, beyond those who could afford it.

Mr Carlisle said the statement issued by the Labour Party's National Executive Committee about the assisted places scheme was memorable only for its blatant disregard of the interests of the children who would be affected.

"They appear to look upon a child merely as a pawn to be used to justify the educational status quo. They do not seem to wish that any attempt should be made to provide an educational system tailored to the needs of individual children."

Lorry driver in fraud plot sentenced

John Hogger, aged 36, of Ocean Estate, Stepney, London, a lorry driver, who was said to have fled to Spain after taking part in a road haulage fraud, was given a 12-month suspended jail sentence at the Central Criminal Court yesterday on conspiracy to defraud and other charges.

It was alleged that forwarding agents had been charged deposit payments when goods were loaded for transport to the Middle East and Europe, but many loads were not delivered. Two men were jailed last month.

Brewery accuses publicans of watering beer

Fourteen publicans were seeking legal advice yesterday after the brewery dismissed them for allegedly watering beer. The landlords have been given two months' notice by the Home Brewery Company of Nottingham after up to two gallons of water was found in some 36-gallon beer barrels.

Mr John Cox, chairman of Nottingham Licensed Victuallers Association said: "I have seen the analyst's report and there is no doubt the beer has been tampered with. But I flatly refuse to believe it was done in the pubs. There is just no way they would get involved in this kind of thing."

One of the landlords, Mr Phillip Coley, of The Durham Ox, at Beeston, Nottinghamshire, said he had a suspicion who was responsible but would say no more until he had consulted his solicitor. An official of the brewery refused to comment.

Club chairman denies theft

Stuart Dryden, chairman of Nottingham Forest Football Club, denied at Nottingham Crown Court yesterday 15 charges concerning his sub-post office at Ruddington, near Nottingham.

Mr Dryden, aged 53, a magistrate, of West Bridgford, denied 11 charges of theft involving £118. He also pleaded not guilty to two charges of obtaining £162 by deception and two of furnishing false information about wages from the hearing continues today.

Thorpe successor

A successor to Mr Jeremy Thorpe as prospective Liberal parliamentary candidate for North Devon is expected to be chosen by Easter.

Magazine's end a blow to Welsh cultural life

Cultural life in Wales has been impoverished by the decision to cease publication of the literary magazine, *Planet*, although the mass of Welsh people were unaware of its existence.

After nine years and 50 issues of high quality writing, sometimes controversial and often radical, Mr Ned Thomas, the editor, has decided there is need for a more populist publication to replace the kind of militant reformist pleading at *Planet* contained.

Planet was important to Welsh life because it provided rare English language platform for serious analysis of Welsh issues without being assailed to party dogma or prejudice. Indeed, anxious to avoid assumptions that it was tainted and nationalistic, it adopted in its early years the title, *Welsh Internationalist*.

That effort to broaden its base did not entirely succeed, but its very nature it was "born to examine issues secular to the principality. The tradition persists in the

Regional report

Tim Jones Cardiff

last issue. The first article outlines the disruption at University College, Bangor, and explains to English sixth-formers who may consider going there that their studies could be disrupted as Welsh students continue to react to the assault on their cultural life.

It also contains a translation of the famous lecture, "Need the language divide us?" by the late J. R. Jones, professor of philosophy at Swansea.

Adhering to a belief in social democracy, the magazine has sounded warnings which, at a time when holiday homes in Wales are alarmingly proliferating, are alarmingly prophetic. An article dealing with Welsh language

protesters states that in their way they believe that social democracy works. It continues: "If it patently does not, then... Wales will have slipped that bit further towards that violent confrontation... which is so familiar elsewhere."

There is an irony in an essay in the final edition dealing with Lloyd George and Saunders Lewis. Lloyd George was at Berchamstead with Hitler on the night in 1938 when Mr Lewis helped to burn down the bombing school at Penberth as "an alien institution that would inevitably damage and ultimately destroy it (the Lleyn peninsula's) venerable culture and way of life."

Mr Thomas, a senior lecturer at the University of Wales, Aberystwyth, Dr Penmar Davies, head of a theological college, and Dr Meredith Evans, a senior lecturer at University College, Cardiff, are due to appear before a subcommittee to answer charges relating to their part in entering and switching off the Pencaerreg television transmitting station in west



Photograph by Harry Kari

TV détente: Tatyana Vedeneva, Soviet television's counterpart of the BBC's newsreader, Angela Rippon, and ITN's Anna Ford, photographed in London yesterday for a preview of a

new BBC Russian language series. Miss Vedeneva, aged 25, a former actress who appeared in seven films, will present the series. *Russian Language and People*. She is a newsreader for

Gostelradio, which has helped in the production, and presenter of current affairs and children's programmes. She will present the first of the 20-part series on BBC2 next Monday.

Not in front of children, smokers told

By John Roper
Health Services Correspondent

The Health Education Council yesterday launched a television campaign to persuade adults that they should not smoke in front of children.

The films will be shown during the next month and have cost £300,000. Coupled with that is a smaller campaign in children's comics pointing to the danger of cigarette smoking.

The action is based on a study prepared by Dr Leo Baric of the department of community medicine at Manchester University, who said his main conclusion was that babies could be influenced by what they saw happening around them from their first year.

The survey found that where smoking was becoming more acceptable for women in general, as part of their liberation and equality with men, smoking by pregnant women was slowly becoming unacceptable.

Dr Baric said that a room filled with smoke, or someone smoking over a baby, could increase the probability of the child having pneumonia or bronchitis in the first year.

Minister rebukes Mr Roy Jenkins as gulf widens over Community's farm policy

From Hugh Clayton
Agriculture Correspondent
Oxford

British complaints about the latest EEC plan to cut the cost of the common agricultural policy were rejected last night by Mr Roy Jenkins, president of the European Commission. He was immediately rebuked by Mr Peter Walker, Minister of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food.

They spoke at a dinner on the eve of the Oxford Farming Conference and their speeches showed the deepening gulf between Britain and the rest of the Community on farm policy.

The commission wants milk output from dairies above levels reached last year to be taxed to provide funds to promote extra consumption of dairy produce.

"It has been said that this idea is unfair because it discriminates against efficient

British producers of milk," Mr Jenkins said. "This is a charge which I reject."

He also defended an attempt by the Commission to reduce output of sugar throughout the Community. Opposing the plan, British farmers and processors say it bears especially heavily on the industry in this country.

"Seen against the historical facts, these proposals are the reverse of unfavourable to the British sugarbeet industry," Mr Jenkins said. "I do therefore urge you to approach these proposals with an open mind. Of course, they do mean sharing with your European partners the penalties and discomforts associated with bringing a halt to the surpluses."

Mr Walker was deeply sceptical about the Commission's ideas. He said current proposals ignored certain areas of very high actual or potential expenditure, such as wine and cereals, where there was obvious scope for savings.

The proposed quotas for milk and sugar ignored the fact that farm prices in Britain had been much lower for much of the 1970s than those in other EEC states. "Even if quotas were to be part of the answer, it is surely most unfair to base them on production levels which cannot reflect relative efficiency," Mr Walker said.

"I trust that the Commission will take heed of these criticisms and be prepared to revise their proposals accordingly."

He believed that one of the main flaws in the Commission's campaign was that it said nothing about the level of EEC price support to farmers. Some of the planned measures would not cut spending but simply raise revenue from consumers rather than from Community funds.

Swine disease spreads in spite of slaughter policy

By Our Agriculture Correspondent

A government campaign to stop the spread of a pig disease by slaughtering and burning thousands of animals has failed.

The Ministry of Agriculture, Fisheries and Food has confirmed that swine vesicular disease has broken out near Bromsgrove, Hereford and Worcester, far from its main centre in Lancashire.

The ministry said there had been another outbreak in Lancashire. More than 1,000 pigs from the two farms concerned have been slaughtered.

The disease, which is highly infectious, reached Britain in 1972. It causes lameness and can produce skin sores. The ministry said in 1976 that it had been eradicated from Britain.

It spread quickly and all outbreaks must be reported. Infected animals are burnt.

More than 2,500 pigs have been slaughtered in the first week of the year, compared with 44,000 in the whole of last year. The cost in compensation this year already exceeds £100,000, compared with £225,000 in 1979 and more than £10m since the disease reached Britain.

Man jailed for stealing ball at match

From Our Correspondent Hereford

Two football supporters who were said to have stolen the match ball at Saturday's fourth division game between Hereford United and Doncaster Rovers pleaded guilty before Hereford magistrates yesterday.

Carl Michael Solomon, aged 19, of Cagebrook Avenue, Hereford, was jailed for three months. Neil Patrick Williams, aged 17, of Villa Street, Hereford, was sent to a detention centre for three months.

The elderly suffer in all-electric homes

By Robin Young
Consumer Affairs Correspondent

Those who use electricity for heating switch the power on for markedly shorter periods and heat fewer rooms than those using other fuels, yet the last bill for those living in all-electric homes averaged £74, nearly double the average for people using other forms of heating.

The Electricity Consumers' Council says that those findings from a survey among a random sample of 2,087 people in England and Wales, underline fears that elderly people and those on low incomes living in all-electric homes do not heat their homes adequately because of the cost.

Jennifer Bowen, research director of MAS Survey Research, who wrote the report, said: "The elderly and those on low incomes often live in all-electric homes, relying on what they consider an expensive fuel, yet they are the least able to afford it."

They are also most in need of information and advice, yet least likely to know where to get it. Other findings from the survey suggest there has been little response to campaigns for energy conservation. Some 38 per cent of households said they had done nothing to save fuel.

Although more than a fifth of electricity bill recipients said they had difficulty in paying, almost nine tenths paid in full as the bill came each quarter.

Paying by budgetary systems was unpopular, but the people most likely to benefit from easy payment arrangements were the least likely to know about them.

The report says there is a need to examine the role of 955 electricity board shops and showrooms. Nearly two thirds of respondents visited them, but it was usually to pay bills.

Although the shops have a combined sales turnover approaching £200m a year, only one third of customers who called intending to buy appliances actually made purchases there. Most said they could buy more cheaply elsewhere.

Consumers' Attitudes to Electricity, by Jennifer Bowen, (Electricity Consumers' Council, 118 Marylebone Road, London, NW1 5PY, £7.50.)

Vandals damage council offices

Sixty council planning staff were sent home yesterday after vandals caused damage estimated at £10,000 at their offices in Carlisle. Files and records had been destroyed, light fittings smashed, fire extinguishers set off and chemicals poured on desks and carpets.

A police officer said that it was the worst case of vandalism he had seen. Planning applications are expected to be held up because many documents have been ruined.

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WEST EUROPE

France lets in British lamb for a period

From Our Own Correspondent
Paris, Jan 7

France will reopen its frontier tomorrow to British sheepmeat. But the move is purely administrative and temporary and has nothing to do with the decision of the European Court last year, which told France to lift its ban on British lamb.

British lamb and mutton will be allowed in on payment of a levy of six francs (70p) a kilogram. This will bring it up to something slightly above the current French price, which is about 22 francs a kilogram, and is very high owing to the usual heavy consumption and low production over the Christmas-New Year period.

The French market organization provides for the operation of frontiers when the threshold price of 19.85 francs a kilogram is exceeded. The aim is to maintain French prices, and therefore sheep farmers' income, at the same level, by increasing or reducing supply.

Mr. Fina Olay Gundersen, the member of the European Commission for Agriculture, is travelling to Paris and London later this week, for talks with the French and British Ministers of Agriculture. He is expected to propose transitional measures on lamb and mutton, pending agreement on a Community organization of the sheepmeat market.

Herr Schmidt in meeting with Spanish King

Madrid, Jan 7.—Herr Helmut Schmidt, the West German Chancellor, met King Juan Carlos today at the start of an official visit expected to focus on Spain's attempt to join the European Community and the forthcoming European security conference here.

The international situation will also be on the agenda of his talks tomorrow with Señor Adolfo Suárez, the Spanish Prime Minister. Herr Schmidt cancelled a planned visit to the ancient city of Toledo later today to confer with his foreign policy advisers on latest developments, including Afghanistan, West German diplomatic sources said.

Herr Schmidt flew from Madrid to Toledo today to confer with his foreign policy advisers on latest developments, including Afghanistan, West German diplomatic sources said.

Herr Schmidt and his wife were welcomed at Barajas air-

French Opposition say oil price rises made budget meaningless

From Charles Hargrove
Paris, Jan 7

The elaborate and largely meaningless parliamentary charade, caused by the Constitutional Council's annulment of the budget for 1980 on Christmas Eve, was resumed today in the three-quarters empty chamber of the National Assembly, in an atmosphere of indifference and boredom.

The purpose of today's resumption of the extraordinary session of Parliament summoned by President Giscard d'Estaing on December 27, is to approve a new budget, which except for minor details, is the carbon copy of the old one, but this time it has to be approved with full regard for all the constitutional niceties.

For Mr. Raymond Barre, the Prime Minister, this resumed session is a mere formality, as the budget Bill has already been discussed at length, and adopted in December, and the Government has no intention of accepting any amendments to it.

The two government parties have taken the same view and decided not to intervene in the general debate on the budget. Nor so the Opposition, which is determined to use the opportunity to challenge the Government's policy, and every procedural device to delay the final vote.

Mr. François Mitterand, the Socialist leader, has declared that the Bill should have been thoroughly revised to take into account the price rises resulting from the Caracas session of Opec, which completely alter the fundamental premises upon which the budget was drafted.

"The Bill which was submitted to us in the autumn was mediocre, now it is absurd and undignified," he said.

The Communists began today by tabling a question (which if adopted would have had the effect of shelving the Bill indefinitely).

The Communist motion was rejected by 288 votes to 198. But the Government will again have to resort three times to the bludgeon of Article 49 of the constitution, which enables it to pass a Bill without a vote, as it did already on six occasions during the ordinary session last autumn, in order to overcome the obstacle of the Gaullists' persistence in abstaining in the vote.

The Gaullists argue that because this Bill is the exact replica of the previous one, there is no need for the change the stand and support it any more than they did before.

But as a result the prestige and dignity of Parliament will suffer another setback in the eyes of a public opinion.

Bonn clings to hopes for detente

From Patricia Clough
Bonn, Jan 7

The West German Government is clinging stoically to its much-cherished policy of detente and disarmament, despite the setback caused by the Afghanistans crisis.

The Soviet action has caused deep unhappiness and concern to the Social Democratic-Free Democratic coalition, which for 30 years has striven for more relaxed and friendly relations with West Germany's eastern neighbours and for disarmament.

However, loyalty to the United States, the main ally, and the country's security take priority. Herr Hans-Dietrich Genscher, the Foreign Minister, has expressed full support and sympathy for President Carter's retaliatory measures.

Herr Helmut Schmidt, the Chancellor, is due to meet President Leonid Brezhnev of the Soviet Union and Herr Erich Heinecker, the East German leader, in the next couple of months. As yet there is no indication that the meetings will be called off or postponed.

Both Herr Schmidt and Herr Genscher are also due to go to Washington soon for routine consultations.

It is particularly important to the two men that their detente and disarmament plans should not collapse in a year which will end with general elections.

Herr Franz Josef Strauss, the opposition candidate for Chancellor, has said he is ready to accept the policy of Herr Manfred Werner, the Christian Democrats' defence spokesman, has taunted them with basing their policy on a misjudgment of the real nature of the Soviet Union.

Cigarette end fire killed 11

Rotterdam, Jan 7.—A 57-year-old Dutch cabinet maker has admitted throwing a burning cigarette end into a house in the Rotterdam docks area last Wednesday, causing a blaze which killed 11 people, including seven children, police said today.

A police spokesman said the man, who was questioned about the blaze, had thrown the cigarette end through an open downstairs window "just for the heck of it".—Reuter.

Police invited to Corsican interrogation of hostages

From Our Own Correspondent
Paris, Jan 7

Three men alleged to belong to an anti-Communist organization have been held hostage since yesterday in the town hall of the small village of Bastella, near Ajaccio, by Corsican nationalists.

The building was surrounded by about 100 sympathizers while riot police threw a cordon around the village. The three men were interrogated yesterday evening by their captors, militants of the Union of the Corsican People and were allowed to talk to journalists today.

They were described as "dangerous criminals". They were captured and their cars searched as they arrived at the village during the afternoon, fully armed, according to the "Bastella collective", an extremist wing of the Union of the Corsican People, with plans to kidnap or even to kill a well known autonomist, M. Marc Lorenzon.

Their captors invited the commander of the gendarmerie

of Ajaccio to attend the interrogation. A doctor was also called to examine one of the men, whose health gave grounds for some anxiety.

One of the hostages, M. Alain Ollivier, an armorer of Ajaccio, admitted that he belonged to the group "Francis" which carried out several attacks against autonomists and that he had been a member of the SAC, the strong arm group associated with the Gaullist Party.

He also acknowledged that he had come to Bastella with Commander Bertolini, a former regular officer, and M. Leonielli, of Ajaccio, to make contact with another man and carry out reprisals against M. Lorenzon.

M. Ollivier said he had never taken part in any terrorist attacks but that he had heard his two companions in the car had done so.

It was thought likely that the three men would be released after the nationalists had given the utmost publicity to their capture and their "revelations".

Supérieurs. This, together with her own merits and the 1976 reform of the Academy, which opened its doors to younger and less tradition-bound scientists, might have made her election easier.

Mme Choquet-Bruhat acquired international fame in 1950 with her thesis on the foundations of the equations of Einstein, which had a single solution, that is to say that given the state of the world in a given moment, there is a single solution which describes the state of the world at all subsequent moments.

Mme Choquet-Bruhat is a professor at the University of Paris VI, where she teaches analytical mechanics and astrophysics. She has also obtained the silver medal of the National Centre for Scientific Research, and is a laureate of the Academy of Science, before being elected a corresponding member in 1978.

French male preserve is broken

From Our Own Correspondent
Paris, Jan 7

For the first time since it was created in 1666, a woman was today admitted as a full member of the Academy of Science. Another victory for feminism is pending as the election of a woman is regarded as almost a certainty to that even more jealously guarded male preserve, the French Academy itself.

This will bring up to four out of the total of five academies constituting the Institut de France, those whose portals in recent years have been forced by women to open.

The first woman member of the Academy of Science is Mme Yvonne Choquet-Bruhat, a mathematician specializing in relativity, who was elected on May 14 by a strong majority. The announcement by the President of this "historic

event" had been greeted with an immense round of applause. Mme Choquet-Bruhat joins her husband, Gustave, another mathematician elected in 1976. She has succeeded where Mme Marie Curie, and her daughter Mme Irène Joliot-Curie, both Nobel prize winners, failed, although both were candidates.

More recently two celebrated women biologists, Mme Marianne Rumberg-Monaco, and Mme Arlette Nougarede, failed to be elected.

It is a great honour for Mme Choquet-Bruhat said when elected. "I am very embarrassed. I hope I shall not be the sole woman member of the Academy for long."

She is the daughter of Georges Bruhat, one of the greatest French physicists before the war, and long-time director of the physics laboratory of the Ecole Normale

OVERSEAS

6,000 guerrillas assemble in what was one of the most militarily active areas

Flexible approach brings success in Rhodesian ceasefire

From Nicholas Ashford
Mount Darwin,
Southern Rhodesia, Jan 7

So far there has been no need for the Rhodesian security forces to go to the assistance of the police to deal with breaches of the ceasefire, said Lieutenant Mark Kelley, a crewcut Australian member of the Commonwealth ceasefire monitoring force.

"Generally it has been pretty quiet here since the ceasefire came into effect on Friday night. Of course, there have been some incidents of lawlessness, but nothing to get worked up about."

Lieutenant Kelley is one of seven Australian soldiers assigned to monitor the activities of the Rhodesian security forces based in Mount Darwin, a small farming community about 100 miles north of Salisbury.

Until the ceasefire came into effect the Mount Darwin area had been one of the most

militarily active in the country. However, now some 6,000 Patriotic Front guerrillas have gathered at five assembly places in the northern operational area where they will remain during the two months ceasefire period.

"The Rhodesians seem very pleased with the number of guerrillas who have gone to assembly areas," Lieutenant Kelley said. "Although there are some guerrillas still operating around here, most of them seem to have agreed to go along with the ceasefire."

It was largely because the assembly operation had gone as well as it did that Lieutenant Kelley felt the Rhodesians were no longer pressing to be let loose to deal with guerrillas.

Lord Soames, the Governor, has approved the deployment of security forces to assist the police to deal with guerrillas who remain operational. "When we got here

two weeks ago the Rhodesians were expecting to go out on a big mopping up operation. But now they are

challenging us to squash and basketball instead."

Evidence of the flexible approach being adopted by the security forces and the Commonwealth monitoring team came at the weekend when a group of 68 guerrillas turned up at a local police station and demanded to be taken to an assembly area. Technically, they should have surrendered and been disarmed. Instead they were taken, fully armed, to the assembly point.

At Bindura, about 50 miles south of Mount Darwin, Captain Dan Daly, also of the Royal Australian Infantry Corps, found the situation so quiet he was sitting in his communications room reading a book. Near by, black troops from the Rhodesian African Rifles, who had not been out on operations for the past two weeks, were cutting the

grass and weeding the camp's flower beds.

Captain Daly, assisted by two Australian and two British soldiers, is responsible for monitoring all security force actions in the Bindura joint operational command area—a region that takes in former Patriotic Front strongholds in the Chiweshe and Madziva tribal trust lands.

He attends the Rhodesians' daily "sit-rep" conferences and sees all orders and messages sent from and received by the command headquarters. "The Rhodesians cannot take any action without our knowing it," he said. "In fact they make no attempt to hide anything from us. They are very frank and friendly with us."

Since the monitoring force arrived there just before Christmas there have been only two occasions when the Army was called out in support of the police, and both happened before the ceasefire began to be implemented.

A week ago police reinforcements had to be sent to a local protected village to sort out an incident between some guerrillas and the village's black guards. The matter was eventually resolved by flying in a Patriotic Front liaison officer from Salisbury who persuaded the guerrillas to report to a nearby assembly area.

According to the local police commander in Bindura there are still about 60 guerrillas operating in his area. Last week they hacked to death the chief of a near by protected village. During the weekend there was a shooting incident between the guerrillas and a police patrol which had been sent in pursuit of them.

At another protected village further to the north about 40 guerrillas opened fire on 10 black guards who were assigned to protect the village. They eventually left after a police support unit arrived on the scene.

Kabul casts shadow over Aswan summit

From Christopher Walker
Aswan, Jan 7

The ninth summit meeting between President Sadat of Egypt and Mr. Menachem Begin, the Israeli Prime Minister, opened here tonight with strong signs that negotiations about the peace process would be overshadowed by events elsewhere in the Middle East.

The first meeting between the two leaders lasted for an hour and was devoted to regional matters, particularly the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan and the recent turmoil in Iran. No mention was made about bilateral Egyptian-Israeli issues on which there is wide disagreement.

After the talks, an Israeli spokesman expressed satisfaction. He said that Mr. Begin and President Sadat had reached common ground on their mutual interests.

Mr. Begin later spoke out angrily against the Soviet invasion which he described as "naked aggression".

The Soviet action in Afghanistan, he said, had reached a point where it was no longer a matter of internal security but a matter of international security.

Mr. Begin's four-day visit to Upper Egypt will be taken up by visits to historic sites, the summit is regarded as crucial because of its timing. It comes less than three weeks before Israel is due to complete its interim withdrawal from 70 per cent of the Sinai peninsula and less than two months before the two countries are due to exchange ambassadors.

Dr. Ezer Weizman, Egypt's Deputy Prime Minister, said before tonight's meeting that he hoped the recent turmoil in the region would convince Israel that its real interests lay in achieving a comprehensive peace—and this could be achieved only by meeting Palestinian aspirations.

The concern felt by both leaders about the Soviet threat will provide a superficial gloss of unity to the meeting, but unless there is a dramatic change in position the talks have little hope of solving many of the outstanding disagreements.

One question to be answered is the extent to which the peace treaty will lead to a new military alliance in the region. Already both leaders have indicated their willingness to provide military assistance to America in any future efforts to counter Russian influence in the Middle East.

Before Israel's Tel Aviv this morning, Mr. Begin repeated his assurance that he would recommend his Cabinet to accept any American request to use military bases in Israel.

West's intelligence sapped by restrictions on CIA

By Henry Stambope
Defence Correspondent

The United States intelligence services have been crippled by restrictive legislation at a time when they are most needed by the West, according to a report published in Britain.

It warns Britain against imposing similar constraints upon its own security organisation as a result of the Anthony Blunt Affair.

The report from the Institute for the Study of Conflict (ISC) refers to recent crises in Iran and Cuba, which have raised questions over the effectiveness of the American Central Intelligence Agency.

But there has been still more recent criticism during the past week of the failure of Western intelligence sources to predict the scale of Soviet operations in Afghanistan.

Mr. David Rees, a senior research fellow of the ISC says in his study that the extent to which the American intelligence services have been weakened has not been appreciated outside the United States. Yet the security of America's allies has been affected by it.

Inside the United States the Privacy and Amendment Freedom of Information Acts have meant that security files have had to be opened and that the keeping of records on subversive groups has had to be abandoned. Meanwhile the Justice Department's Levi Guidelines have prohibited FBI investiga-

tion into subversive groups unless "actual and imminent violence is at hand".

Abroad, however, the effects have been even more drastic. Mr. Rees says. The 1974 Ryan Amendment prevents covert operations by the CIA unless it is reported to six full congressional committees. As a result "such operations have drastically declined at a time of Soviet global advances".

Mr. Rees says there is a growing belief in the West that mechanical means of gathering and analysing intelligence are good enough. This view is reported to be held in the highest intelligence circles in Washington.

"Yet the lesson of the past is that both in agent handling and operational analysis there is no better and no more effective quality than good human insight and intelligence."

Soviet doctrine places great emphasis on intelligence work as a means of breaking the will of the free nations. This has been accompanied by important Soviet politico-military advances in Africa and the Middle East, in which the foundations of success have been laid by surrogate forces and other clandestine operations under direction of the KGB.

If the United States continued to restrict its intelligence capability, the West could be placed in great jeopardy, Mr. Rees says.

The Crisis in United States Intelligence (ISC) Institute for the Study of Conflict, 21.



President Carter meets Dr Kurt Waldheim at the White House to hear about his recent trip to Iran.

US pursues call for sanctions against Iran

From Patrick Brogan
Washington, Jan 7

The United States is pressing ahead with its attempt to persuade the United Nations Security Council to approve sanctions against Iran. Dr. Kurt Waldheim, the Secretary-General, came to Washington yesterday to describe his visit to Tehran to President Carter, and was told that the United States will not tolerate a United Nations investigation of the alleged misdeeds of the former Shah before the hostages are released.

Dr. Waldheim is trying to arrange an international inquiry into Iran's allegations about American involvement in the Shah's regime. He might set up such an inquiry himself, or one might be sponsored by the

Security Council or the General Assembly.

The United States opposes all such suggestions. The administration believes that there is a lack of clear authority in Tehran and that no agreement that does not provide for the immediate release of the hostages is of any use.

The United States is, however, prepared to cooperate with an international panel investigating the former regime after the hostages are released.

The Security Council had set today as a deadline for the hostages to be freed. Members were expected to start consultations on possible sanctions against Iran later in the day. Tabriz clashes: Thousands of Iranians were involved in clashes in the streets of Tabriz

in the north-west of Iran today and violence flared around the country.

In Tabriz demonstrators attacked and set fire to the offices of one of the town's Islamic committees after fighting between rival supporters of Ayatollah Khomeini and Ayatollah Shariat-Madari.

Eight foreign newsmen were confined to their hotel and then expelled from the city on the orders of the local Islamic Revolutionary Court.

Ayatollah Khomeini has cancelled all appointments for two weeks from January 12 because of tiredness, his office in Tehran said today.

In the Kurdish town of Sanandaj tension mounted as the Governor General of Kurdistan province resigned to

join protesters demanding that the Ayatollah withdraw non-Kurdish Revolutionary Guards from the area.

The Gulf coast near the Strait of Hormuz was closed down in mourning over clashes between Sunni and Shia Muslims in Bandar Lengeh in which 41 people were killed in fighting that started on Friday.

New violence was reported in Baluchistan-Sistan province, where a number of people were killed last month after demands for the withdrawal of Revolutionary Guards.

Two Revolutionary Guards were killed when insurgents ambushed a car on a road 150 miles south of the provincial capital of Zahedan. Four insurgents were killed in the attack.—Reuter and AP.

Disputed seat in Security Council goes to Mexico

New York, Jan 7.—Mexico was elected to the Latin American seat on the United Nations Security Council today after a bitter contest.

Dr. Carlos Salazar, Mexico's foreign minister, said before tonight's meeting that he hoped the recent turmoil in the region would convince Israel that its real interests lay in achieving a comprehensive peace—and this could be achieved only by meeting Palestinian aspirations.

The concern felt by both leaders about the Soviet threat will provide a superficial gloss of unity to the meeting, but unless there is a dramatic change in position the talks have little hope of solving many of the outstanding disagreements.

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Before Israel's Tel Aviv this morning, Mr. Begin repeated his assurance that he would recommend his Cabinet to accept any American request to use military bases in Israel.

Hongkong honours Sherlock Holmes

From Richard Hughes
Hongkong, Jan 7

The Baritsu Chapter of the Baker Street Irregulars, the first and only Sherlock Holmes society in the Far East celebrated the master's 126th birthday at a happy but respectful club dinner last night.

It was attended by Japanese and Chinese as well as British, American and Australian Holmes fanatics. A standing toast was drunk to Sherlock Holmes, who is understood to be alive and well in peaceful retirement on his Sussex beach.

The Baritsu Chapter was founded in Tokyo during the occupation in 1945. Its original members included Mr. Shigeru Yoshida, who was then Prime Minister, and Count Makino, the elder statesman who represented Japan at the signing of the Versailles Treaty after the First World War.

It had been unanimously agreed that the society should be named the Baritsu Chapter in reference to the use—or, rather, misuse—of that word by Holmes in *The Adventure of the Empty House*.

Explaining his return from the dead, he credited his escape from Professor Moriarty to his knowledge of baritsu, the Japanese system of wrestling, which enabled him to hurl the master criminal to destruction in the Reichenbach fall.

In fact, the word "baritsu" does not exist in the Japanese language, Count Makino pointed out in a paper at the founding meeting.

"The word should have been *jujitsu*," said Count Makino. "That is the generic Japanese word for the martial arts, which, in addition to jujitsu, embrace the study of archery, fencing, spearman, pike-thrusting, long and short swordsmanship, military fortifications and the firing of cannon, muskets and small arms."

"Sherlock Holmes' proficiency in all these highly specialized arts is well known. But because of his regrettable failure to visit Japan, this proficiency he clearly acquired from London lessons and the firing of cannon, muskets and small arms."

Holmes never visited the Far East, although he told Dr. Watson that he had spent a couple of years in Tibet during the post-Moriarty hiatus of 1891-94. A visiting foreign diplomat from Peking, who attended last year's anniversary dinner in Hongkong, promised to seek to stormy applause to establish a Sherlock Holmes society in Peking on his return.

Zanzibar votes for first assembly since 1964

From Charles Harrison
Nairobi, Jan 7

Zanzibar voted today for its first House of Representatives since the 1964 revolution which overthrew the Sultan.

Zanzibar is part of the United Republic of Tanzania, and shares the same political party, the Chama Cha Mapinduzi (CCM) with the mainland. But the formation of the new assembly is part of political changes which in effect amount to the end of the arbitrary rule of the

Supreme Revolutionary Council.

Today's election in five regions, was by an estimated 5,000 CCM delegates. There were two candidates for each constituency, all nominated by the CCM.

No date has been set for the election of an assembly president. Mr. Aboud Jumbe, the Tanzanian Vice-President, is likely to be the only candidate for that office, but under the new Zanzibar constitution he must obtain more than 50 per cent of a popular vote.

17 children killed by runaway lorry

Mexico City, Jan 7.—Seventeen children and four adults were killed today when a lorry rolled backwards down a hill after its brakes failed and hit a line of school children on an outing.

A police spokesman said 34 more children with serious injuries were taken to the children's hospital of Xochimilco, south of the city, and to a Red Cross hospital. Most of the victims were between seven and 10 years of age.—AP.

£200,000 demand to free Britons

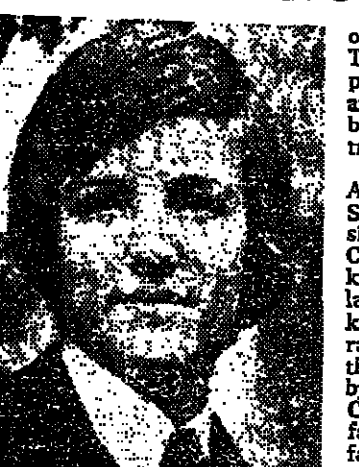
Bogotá, Jan 7.—Leftist guerrillas are demanding \$450,000 (£200,000) ransom for the safe return of a British woman and her son who were kidnapped last weekend, the Colombian Defence Ministry said today.

Elizabeth Jones, aged 43, and her son Owen, aged 16, both British subjects, were kidnapped from their ranch in northern Colombia on Saturday by guerrillas of the National Liberation Army.

The British embassy here said today that Mrs. Jones's husband, Mr. Cyril Jones, was a British subject and that the family had lived in Colombia for more than 20 years.

The guerrillas overpowered Mr. Jones at the family's ranch and fled with Mrs. Jones and their son. The ranch, near the town of Chiriquina in the state of Tolima, is in an area of big cattle ranches.

The guerrillas left a letter at the ranch demanding the ransom and are believed to



Owen Jones: Seized by guerrillas at his home.

have taken Mrs. Jones and her son to a mountainous jungle in the region of northern Colombia. The letter was signed by "The Camillo Torres Brigade".

of the guerrilla organization. Torres was a Roman Catholic priest who became a guerrilla and was killed in a gun battle between guerrillas and Army troops in 1968.

The National Liberation Army, which aligns itself with Soviet communism, is one of six guerrilla groups in Colombia. Thirty groups were kidnapped by the guerrillas last year and almost 100 were kidnapped in 1978. Most were ransomed, some were freed by the army and some were killed by the guerrillas.—AP.

Carried guns: A friend of the family said yesterday: "The family was very security conscious, and knew the risk involved. They always carried guns with them whenever they went outside the house because they lived in such a remote part."

The family was last in Britain in the summer. There are two other sons, Morgan, aged 12, and Hywel, aged nine.

هكرام النحل

OVERSEAS

Homicide case against Ford poses threat to all manufacturers

From Michael Leaman
New York, Jan 7

The Ford Motor Company faces a charge of homicide because of alleged defects in one of its cars in a unique court case which opened in Indiana today.

The indictment was brought by a grand jury after three young women were killed when the 1973 Ford Pinto in which they were travelling was struck in the rear by another car and burst into flames.

The accident happened in August 1973, since when Ford has made energetic legal efforts to have the charge dismissed. In most states corporations cannot be charged with criminal acts, but Indiana introduced a law in 1977 which allows it.

One of Ford's arguments was that the car was built in 1973 and the company could not be charged under a law passed four years later. But last February a court ruled that any offence would be not in the alleged defect in design but in the contention that Ford, as manufacturer, will place the risk of criminal as well as civil prosecution if their products prove faulty. That is why there is likely to be an appeal, whatever the jury decides.

Many civil lawsuits have been brought against Ford in connection with Pintos built between 1971 and 1976. Critics of the small "compact" car claim that the fuel-tank is positioned too near the back, making it liable to catch fire when struck from behind.

For its defence Ford has engaged Mr James Neal, who was one of the Government's prosecutors in the Watergate affair. The prosecution is in the hands of Mr Michael Costantino, a local county prosecutor.

The main element in Mr Costantino's case is the allegation that Ford executives knew that the Pinto was unsafe but were unwilling to spend extra money in modifying it. He will produce documents seeking to show that they knowingly delayed adding an additional safety feature which would have cost \$8 (\$4) per car.

In the summer of 1978 Ford recalled 1,500,000 Pintos built between 1971 and 1976 for modifications to the fuel tank, after the National Highway Traffic Safety Administration issued a report suggesting they were dangerous.

Ford said it did not agree with the finding but had undertaken the recall to allay public concern. Pintos built since 1976 have a different fuel-tank design which has not been criticized on safety grounds.

The trial is taking place at Vincennes, a town in northern Indiana, where the population of 2,400 has never before been the object of national attention.

The case was moved to Vincennes at the request of Ford, which argued that an impartial jury could not be found in the county where the accident took place.

Newspapers and television are focusing attention on the case because it could set an important precedent. If the verdict goes against Ford, manufacturers will face the risk of criminal as well as civil prosecution if their products prove faulty. That is why there is likely to be an appeal, whatever the jury decides.

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SPORT

Football

Form is on Liverpool's side as they go out to settle a score

By Norman Fox
Football Correspondent

As if having a sharp sense of the dramatic, the fates paired Nottingham Forest and Liverpool in yesterday's FA Cup fourth-round draw. The European champions and the league champions seem to have a magnetic attraction over each other and in cup competition it is Liverpool who have a score to settle on January 26.

There is not much profit in dwelling on Forest's recent problems in the league nor in Liverpool's recent troubles in the FA Cup. The relevant and perhaps decisive influences will surely be Forest's psychological and home advantage and Liverpool's away form.

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have no serious chance of catching Liverpool in the championship. Their 4-1 defeat Leeds United in their third round on Saturday blunted at restored ambition, with Bowles giving them more midfield ideas.

The Forest-Liverpool tie is one of three all-first division matches, the others being Bristol City v Ipswich Town and Wolverhampton Wanderers v Norwich City, but there is the possibility of a fourth if the holders, Arsenal, overcome Cardiff City.

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Rugby Union

S Africa may introduce multiracial rugby

From Eric Marsden
Johannesburg, Jan 7

The structure of competitive rugby in South Africa may be changed as a result of the election of a British Lions team. At present the main competition of the rugby season is for the Currie Cup, which is contested for by provincial teams whose players are all white.

Dr Danie Craven, president of the South African Rugby Board, said in a broadcast today that the rugby board would be asked to consider whether to introduce new competition, which would be multiracial, in place of the Currie Cup or in addition to it.

Dr Craven said earlier that the decision by the British Lions to tour South Africa was a "brought new life to rugby in South Africa and to the country as a whole". He hinted that it would break down barriers and lead to a more united side in the national team.

The Barbican tour of Britain was during the close season for rugby in South Africa. There has been no clear indication so far of what changes are planned to make it possible for players such as Hendrie Smit—one of the big players of the tour—to play at the highest level at home.

One of the problems is that not only the White but the Coloured players have shown reluctance to break up their present leagues and competitions. The rugby board is expected to announce a decision on this.

The success of Smit and other non-white players in Britain came as a surprise to many in South Africa, where there has been increased demands for multiracial teams, but at club level there is great conservatism towards a change in the system.

Dakar, Jan 7.—Amadou Lamine Ba, secretary-general of the Supreme Council for Sport in Senegal, said today he hoped the British Government would intervene to stop the British Lions tour of South Africa. He said: "The endorsement by the British Government of the tour of South Africa is deeply regrettable."

He said the tour was a "disgrace" and that the British Government should "stop it at once". He said the tour was a "disgrace" and that the British Government should "stop it at once".

The Supreme Council for Sport in Senegal said today it was "deeply shocked" by the tour of South Africa. It said the tour was a "disgrace" and that the British Government should "stop it at once".

Mr Lamine Ba said today the Supreme Council would continue to watch how the situation developed. He said the tour was a "disgrace" and that the British Government should "stop it at once".

Commenting on suggestions that countries might boycott the Moscow Olympics because of Soviet involvement in Afghanistan, Mr Lamine Ba said: "The events in Afghanistan are not directly linked to sport. They result from political and social differences and there exist in Africa institutions and voices more authoritative to give the African point of view on these events."

The United manager, David Sexton, said: "It is marvellous for us to have such a player in his prime. But he's going to need some training and has to settle in Manchester domestically, so there will be no question of his making the first team immediately."

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Alec Ramsay (right), RFU president, and D. P. "Budge" Rogers, chairman of the England selectors, at yesterday's press conference.

Tour could encourage the spirit of change

By Peter West
Rugby Correspondent

The Rugby Football Union committee decided almost unanimously to support the British Lions tour of South Africa this summer, because they believed that admitting players of colour to the national team would encourage a more united side in the national team.

The RFU president, Alec Ramsay, said he was sure the vast majority of rugby men here believed that those changes would be a good thing. They felt it was better to go ahead and encourage those who have helped to bring the changes about.

He went on to say that the president of the South African Rugby Board, Dr Danie Craven, was a "brought new life to rugby in South Africa and to the country as a whole".

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game: "But surely, such action could not possibly be right. The rugby unions have done nothing illegal."

He felt confident that all good players in South Africa, regardless of their colour, would be given every opportunity to play for the national team. If the end product is a team of 15 whites for the international, then so be it.

The RFU expect next season to be a more united side in the national team. They expect an income from it of between £80,000 and £120,000. They will, however, be increasing their contribution to the national team from £10,000 to £20,000.

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Somalia critically short of aid

Ethiopia war creates 1,000 refugees a day

From Michael Hughes
Mogadishu, Jan 7

Impoverished Somalia in the Horn of Africa has the worst refugee problem in the world. More than a quarter of its population is made up of ragged and hungry refugees from neighbouring Ethiopia.

Every day 1,000 more homeless men, women and children swell the tide, according to official United Nations figures. The United Nations estimate the number of refugees at 1,200,000.

Mr Steffen Bodemar, the representative here of the United Nations High Commission for Refugees (UNHCR), said: "This is the largest number of refugees in any one country in the world. It is impossible for Somalia to absorb this number without very substantial international assistance."

The refugees are from the ethnically Somali regions of eastern Ethiopia, the scene of a long guerrilla war. The number of refugees reaching Somalia

STATE OF GOING (official):
 Locuston, soft (hrodes), good to soft
 (steelchairs); Tuntwell Park, soft:
 Stockton, heavy (hurries), soft:
 (steelchairs), good to soft (steelchairs)
 (steels chairs). Tomorrow: Towcester,
 soft; Carlisle, heavy.

Bernard Levin looks at the implications following the Indian election

The return of Gandhi and Son: what now?

The Indian election results, though not complete as I write, are already sufficiently clear to make heavy hearts of those everywhere who love India and freedom, honesty and decency in public life, who value, in India as elsewhere, realism in seeing the truth and courage in speaking it, and who believe that it is not necessary for a voter to be well-fed or even literate to distinguish between democracy and tyranny, and still less between right and wrong. All those ideals and beliefs have been struck a grievous blow by the decision of free Indian voters to restore to power a ruthless, undemocratic, mendacious and criminal leader, together with her gangster son and their squalid entourage of Bansi Lals and the like.

No doubt there was intimidation during the campaign: no doubt there were irregularities at the polls: no doubt there was a good deal of quiet double-crossing by politicians ostensibly opposed to her yet anxious to swim with the tide. But when all this has been said, and all allowances made, the result is that in a genuinely democratic election, the Indian people chose to restore to power the scoundrels whom they had so rightly ejected in March 1977.

There are reasons, of course, for their decision; I shall come

to them in a moment. But first, I must be allowed to think of my friends there, most of them now in danger of her vengeance, and of those I know only by repute, such as that most upright judge, Chief Justice Shah, who was chairman of the commission which investigated and promulgated the details of her crimes and her lies, and whose name now is a marked man. I think of the editors who fought her last time—Ramesh Thapar of *Seminar*, the elegant Masani of *Freedom First* whom nothing surprises, the venerable Gopalwala, who looks like a holy sage and fights for liberty like a pacifist dervish: I ponder on the future of the MRA group around *Himmat*, led by Rajmohan Gandhi (grandson of both free India's founding fathers, the Mahatma and Rajagopalachari), on the fate of the lawyers who fought her in the courts, like Sorabjee, of those who were on the run and in hiding, throughout her fraudulent Emergency, like George Verma, of the hundreds of thousands who were forcibly sterilized, of the millions who were stripped of their freedom overnight when she seized the power, she knew she could not then obtain from a free electorate. (What will she do—what will her son do—now that they can plausibly say that they have

I have no doubt that Mrs Gandhi will abuse the power she has now been given

the endorsement of the people?) I think—how could I help thinking?—of the plea that her enemies in this country will now be feeling, the Michael Foots and Egon Griffithses and Peter Shores, and of all the others who will shortly be telling us that Mrs Gandhi has once again made the trains run on time. "They are ringing their bells; soon they will be wringing their hands." No doubt; but I am the very last man to want to say "I told you so" to India. I am almost glad that Jayaprakash Narayan did not live to see his countrymen vote Mrs Gandhi back into office, for it would surely have broken that great heart, and

what would have broken it is what makes mine heavy—not that she is back in power, but that she got there with the votes of a free people in a free election.

There are, as I say, reasons. Chief among them was the inability of the men in charge of the precarious Janata coalition to hold together in the face of a foe whose evil intentions were surely far more important than anything which divided her opponents. Second was the personal ambitions so damagingly pursued by those who should have sunk those ambitions in the common cause, and who did, after all, do precisely that to fight the 1977 election. ("J.P." was the architect of the Janata coalition on that occasion. Could he, had he lived, have done it again? It is not impossible.) Some would put Morarji Desai next, though I think he has been harshly judged; indeed, misjudged. It was not his fault that his chief political allies frittered away the months in quarrelling and scrambling for personal power, nor was it for want of warnings from him that they would not stop doing so long enough to hear the oncoming roar of the electoral tide.

Disillusionment was inevitable. Why should the Indian voters follow men who could not make up their own minds

as to what they wanted, let alone persuade each other to agree on the same wants? In these circumstances, the appeal of a ruthless and single-minded politician who knew exactly what she wanted is easy to understand. And, of course, there was the full weight of an exceptionally heavy example of that most modern of political avalanches, the revolution of awakened expectations.

I sometimes think that Pandora should be the patron saint of politicians today (if indeed she hasn't been appointed to the post already). The Indian voters who threw out Mrs Gandhi and Son in March 1977, got it firmly into their heads that those who succeeded to government were able, and therefore about, to usher in heaven upon earth. As a matter of fact, Mr Desai and his government did remarkably well in the matter of improving India's condition; but of course all they could do was to alleviate the problems, and too many voters, it has long been clear, expected the problems to be swept away altogether.

If that reminds you of conditions under pressure, and that you are surprised. The difference, however, between the expectations aroused by Morarji Desai and those awakened by Wilson, Callaghan and Healey is that Morarji never claimed to be able to make figs grow

upon thorns, whereas our Labour Party leaders, almost to the last moment they were in office, and again now that they are in Opposition, have constantly insisted that easing the food crisis, will banish hunger for ever, and leave no insoluble problems around next year's harvest.

Both aroused expectations that they knew could not possibly be satisfied. But Janata did so by the very fact of their election and no more; Labour did it knowing what dragon's teeth they were sowing, and they are at it again now. Perhaps it is rather insular of me to see our problems mirrored in India's, but I cannot help it, and anyway it helps to take my mind off my friends and their grief—and their peril. I have no doubt that Mrs Gandhi will abuse the power she has now been given, and that she has never had the slightest intention of refraining from such abuse of it, though I certainly expect her to do it in a manner less gross than she employed last time. As for her son, I have no doubt that Sanjay Gandhi, now that his mother will make haste to relieve him of all the legal penalties and charges that have followed from his crimes (as, of course, she will see that all the outstanding charges against herself are removed), will revert to his career of corruption and intimidation.

I have also no doubt that, sooner or later, the voters of India will regret what they have done. I pray that by then it will

still not be too late for them to undo it. © Times Newspapers Ltd, 1980



Moscow seems to have learnt nothing from earlier imperial adventures in Afghanistan

Is the Soviet Union opening a new round in the Great Game?

History is constantly stealing up on us and revealing our total unpreparedness for events. This new year we are faced with the dreadful coincidence of one of the players in Kipling's *Kim* or Conrad's *Heart of Darkness* stumbling down the same path taken by Britain exactly a century ago, Afghanistan? Why should faint memories of an imperial involvement in a far-off country concern us in our present reduced circumstances? Soviet Russia, in this era of the nuclear arms race, has been unable to profit from Britain's experience in Afghanistan.

The parallels with the Great Game are striking: give or take some changes of emphasis, the murder of envoys, the playing off of one nationalist leader against another, and the remorseless harrying and sometimes total destruction of the invading force by fanatical tribesmen recur.

In the opening days of 1880 an expeditionary force of the Indian army was holding its own with difficulty in the capital, Kabul, and in garrisons scattered through the mountainous south-central part of one of the most inhospitable countries in Asia. It was committed in pursuit of the so-called "forward" policy of the non-tooth of British imperialism. Which of course meant a reaction to someone else's imperialism, Russia's. Russia had been far too active in advancing its frontiers in Central Asia for the peace of minds of the home government or its representatives in India.

India now lay at the end of a chain of staging posts and of a canal in which Britain had bought Britain a controlling interest. Any threat to any part of the empire was a threat to the whole. Britain was bound to react, therefore, to Russia's advance on Constantinople in the Russo-Turkish war. Sabres were rattled; a music hall song was on all lips: "We don't want to fight, but by Jingo if we do," and Disraeli fired a shot across Russia's bows by dispatching 5,000 Indian troops to Cyprus and seizing Cyprus as a military base to protect the Canal.

At this point the Russians shuffled the deck for a hand

in the Great Game. That was what it was to be immortalized as by Kipling, but the ground rules already existed. Keep Britain off-balance in her most prized imperial possession and either fight or relax the pressure as the international situation seemed to dictate. And implicit in all the intrigue was the idea of winning a route to a long-sought warm-water port. Only a land-locked power could cling to such a dream so tenaciously.

In 1839 Russian overtures to the Amir of Afghanistan led to invasion by a British Army and the establishment of a Mission at Kabul. On that occasion not only were the plenipotentiaries murdered, but the British cantonments, but the Army itself had to retreat during the winter through the mountains and only three surviving Britons reached India. Nearly 700 British troops and more than 3,000 Indians were massacred.

Forty years later Britain's understandable resolve not to get involved in Afghan affairs again was weakening as Russia attempted to bring the Amir of the day into its sphere of influence. A new Viceroy arrived in India in 1876 with a brief to accentuate the imperial connexion—emphasized by the great durbar to proclaim Victoria Empress of India—and secret instructions to counter any moves by Russia against the North-West Frontier. Lord Lytton's vice-royalty has been described in a recent book by his granddaughter. A poet, Lytton was considered a highly unconventional, even eccentric, choice for the office and his sense of the dramatic had led him to have found an ideal outlet in the Great Game. He wrote to the Amir, Sher Ali, that if he failed to accept a British Mission he would be alienating a friendly power, a power that had an army that could either form a defensive ring round him or, if he proved unfriendly, could break him like a reed.

Sher Ali received a Russian envoy, Stofletoff, in state and accepted some material aid and advisers (British troops, it was suspected that Afghan artillery was being served by Russian gunners). The crisis now broke and the British Mission, with



Royal Artillery saving the guns at Maiwand, 1880 (after a painting by R. Caton Woodville). Reproduced by courtesy of the National Army Museum.

its political officer, Major Pierre Louis Napoleon Cavagnari, tried to enter Afghanistan, at the border post of Jambul.

They were politely rejected but Lytton had what he considered to be his *casus belli*. A veteran of Indian frontier warfare, he observed: "We have entered into conflict with a race of tigers. Only by ruling them with a rod of iron will they ever give in."

Lytton had grossly underestimated the difficulty of the task. No short, sharp shock to the natives, this, but a slow, costly campaign of conquest. The total bill for the first year alone was £950,000; thousands of pack animals died hauling supplies in the mountains (which caused the British finally to extend the railway to the frontier) and extra troops had to be rushed out from Britain to make good the drain on the Indian forces.

The Viceroy forced his Mission on the Afghans, which four months later was attacked by fanatics "high" on the effects of Ramadan, and all were killed. The resulting full-scale military intervention designed to impose direct British rule met with one of the most humiliating reverses to European arms in the whole history of imperialism.

Fortunately the crisis produced the right commander; in stead of dunderheads like those

who had lost the previous expedition, skilled professionals like Sir Donald Stewart, Sam Browne (of belt fame) and Frederick Roberts were selected.

Roberts, "Our Bob", was a stern disciplinarian but came to be loved by his men for he cared for them materially and gave them victories with few casualties. He proved to be the only leader who could get the Afghans out of their fastnesses by resorting to rapid outflanking movements and the bond of mutual trust established with his Khan, Field Force gave the invaders a battle-hardened spearhead, with high morale.

This was just as well as the Afghans had maulled the British at Maiwand, lured by their Imam, one of whom, a 90-year-old Ayatollah was carried on his bed from village to village preaching the Jihad against the *ferengi*. Colours and guns were lost, and imperial pride and nerves took a terrible beating.

Roberts then gained an unexpected victory and a great reputation. He marched a picked force of 10,000 men, unencumbered by wheeled transport and carrying only pack howitzers the 280 miles from Kabul to the besieged city of Kandahar. The march was hailed as "simply the most daring and brilliant feat of arms performed by a British general since the Peninsular War."

The demoralized garrison rushed out to greet their deliverers with cooked breakfast and were told by Bobs to prepare themselves for instant battle with the victors of Maiwand, who were swarming in their thousands near by. The next day the Highlanders and Gurkhas attacked and drove back the besiegers at point of bayonet.

When the news reached Britain, Jingoists, who had had their ardour dampened by depressing dispatch after dispatch, went wild with joy. Gladstone was even prevailed upon to grant Roberts a title which, of course, he took from the crowning mercy of Kandahar.

The Russians noted later: "In the face of unfavourable military circumstances the English were obliged to put forward all their strength in order to attain merely relative success over the weak Afghans."

And perhaps the last word should be Roberts, who wrote: "It may not be very flattering to our own people but I feel sure I am right when I say that the less the Afghans see of us, the less they dislike us."

Should the Russians attempt to conquer Afghanistan "we shall have a better chance of attacking the Afghans to our interest if we avoid all interference with them."

John Crossland

Ulster: trapped between patriotism and politics

There is a close parallel between the resignation of Mr Jack Lynch as the Irish Republic Taoiseach and that of Captain Terence O'Neill as Prime Minister of Northern Ireland 10 years before.

In each case you had a Prime Minister of a peaceable disposition under pressure from London to take measures which, while accepted by the majority of the population and even of his party's voters, nevertheless dismayed his party's activists. Gradually the moral authority of both men declined and in the end they resigned.

Every polity, if it is to function as a democracy, must be built around an idea. It needs a widely-shared patriotism, to motivate its administration and security force. The trouble with the two Irish states is that their patriotisms do not march with their populations. The only possible patriotism for Northern Ireland is political Protestantism for the area's only distinguishing characteristic is that it is the part of Ireland with a Protestant majority.

Its preference for the Union, expressed in referendums, will not serve as an effective patriotism for it; for Unionism, by definition, wants to eliminate all barriers between the province and the centre. There are Scottish Unionists, but Unionism is no part of the definition of a Scotsman.

The fact that Northern Ireland is not integrated with the mainland but has its own governmental institutions is a defect for Unionism. Indeed genuine unionism is no better qualified than Irish nationalism to act as Northern Ireland's patriotism; for both Unionism and Irish nationalism do not want the area to exist as a separate unit.

If there existed in Northern Ireland a genuine non-sectarian regional patriotism inside the larger UK patriotism devotion might work; but such a patriotism manifestly does not exist.

The only "Unionist" parties which command mass acceptance are specifically Protestant ones. Northern Ireland must speak with a Protestant voice, or not speak at all. Because of this, Britain has been forced to make sure that it speaks as little as possible; and to direct rule by mainland politicians was imposed.

Yet Britain has, now and again, to arrange for it to speak — to show that it still wishes to remain in the United Kingdom. For this the organizing of Protestant politics is necessary. Without the Rev Ian Paisley, the Rev Martin Smyth

and the Orange Order, all political coherence in Northern Ireland would disappear.

The North's patriotism does not embrace all its population; that of the South spreads beyond its borders. The only distinguishing feature of the 26 counties is that it is the Catholic area of Ireland; but while there is a heavy Catholic influence on the state, it is clear that its population shrinks from Catholicism as a political definition and prefers to see itself as Irish.

A Dublin Government which forsook the all-Ireland ideal and acquiesced in the border as the permanent boundary of the state would have to treat the people of Antrim and Armagh and the rest as foreigners. It would be that fact have lost the right to call itself Irish: it could not survive.

In practice, Dublin governments are schizophrenic. They can neither abandon the all-Ireland aim nor take practical steps to realize it. They may see all Irishmen as potential citizens, but in practice they attend to the needs of the 26-county Irish, who vote them into office. Having learnt over the years to survive and thrive in 26-county politics, Southern parties, despite the unity rhetoric, will be slow to move towards an all-Ireland state, in whose politics they might not prosper, or even exist.

Ireland creates patriotism problems for the mainland British also. Do they regard Northern Ireland as part of their nation, as contributing to their national identity? Does it mean anything to them that they are Great Britain and Northern Irelandish, over and above being British? Almost certainly not.

Britain has ample goodwill towards Northern Ireland and makes great sacrifices in the pursuit of what she sees as her duty there. But she stops short of offering what, if the Northern Irish were seen as really British, would be automatically offered — integration.

That refusal makes separate institutions necessary for the province; and those institutions have (if the area is not to be a colony) to be based on Protestantism. Thus Unionism is thrown into a permanent alliance with an Irish political force — political Protestantism — and it ceases to be possible to verify whether the pro-Union majority in Northern Ireland is one arrived at by Britain's political divisions. And, further, the mainland British become associated, albeit at some remove,

with extreme Protestant violence.

With Unionism denied an outlet (no mainland party organizes in the province), political Protestantism is threatened as the specific expression of Northern Ireland's identity, the legitimacy of Britain's sovereignty being placed in question and atrocities being committed in her name. Britain pays a heavy price for the refusal of integration.

Given that Britain's troubles, as well as those of South and North, all stem from the existence of Northern Ireland as a separate political unit, it seems natural to think in terms of a compromise solution which aims to cater for the various interests involved in a context where it is no longer a political unit.

This means (integration with Britain being, one assumes, ruled out) the creation of a new, united Ireland; an Ireland which would not be the isolated Celtic isle of the anglophobe Republican's dream but one compounded of North and South and with permanent links, such as common citizenship, with Britain, an Ireland in which genuine Unionists (who are the only people to whom Britain owes a duty) can retain their cherished British nationality without the current need for accommodation with Protestant politics.

The objection will be made that if Britain adopted such a policy, there would be Protestant violence; but this, if valid, only emphasizes the dilemma, since it implies that, while trying to put down actual Republican violence, Britain is at the same time the prisoner of potential Protestant violence. And it may not be valid.

It is hard to keep terrorist campaigns going, without some kind of acceptable aim. Without its identification with Irish nationalism, the IRA could not continue.

Political Protestants get derisory votes once they abandon their Union and campaign for UDI. It may not be that if a situation were created where political Protestants were longer pose, as they currently do, as the defenders of the Union the threat of Protestant violence would diminish, not increase.

But the time for "solutions" is hardly ripe. The need is for new perceptions, most importantly of the need to disentangle Unionism from Protestant politics. The old perceptions are manifestly leading nowhere; once they are changed, we can hope that effective policies will emerge.

Hugh Munro

Underground conservation in the City

A public inquiry into redevelopment plans for part of Philip Lane in the City of London is due to open on February 12. Beneath this bald announcement lies the unusual story of a conservation campaign which began above ground and suddenly plunged below it when a remarkable archaeological discovery was made.

Philip Lane runs from Fenchurch Street in the north to Easiechurch in the south. Two subsidiaries of Wates Ltd have already started redeveloping part of the site, comprising numbers 5, 7, 8 and 9 Philip Lane, which turns into the tiny Brabant Court to the west of the street.

Planning permission had already been granted for part of the site. Wates had already begun building a complex of offices, shops and a restaurant and a powerful campaign to conserve numbers 7 and 8 on the grounds that they are rare examples of eighteenth century merchants' houses was already under way when Wates' very generosity in allowing access

to the site led to the discovery of an almost complete medieval undercroft.

To the layman's eye, the present state of numbers 7 and 8, protected buildings though they are, suggests that it would be necessary to destroy them in order to save them. But the undercroft beneath them, according to two experts on subterranean London, is a find likely to occur only once in a generation. Specialist confirmation of the value of the discovery came just before Christmas, attributing the structure to the late fourteenth or early fifteenth century—Chaucer's time.

It is one of the earliest examples of the use of brick in the City, and is dressed with some thought to come from Caen in Normandy. Originally, it probably protruded some four feet above ground level and would have had lights near the roof to illuminate its role as a storage basement for the timber-frame shops which stood above it until the Great Fire of 1666.

The conservationists would like to see it preserved, restored and thrown open to the public within the redevelopment scheme. Mr Paul Wates, chairman of Wates Developments Ltd, told me: "We cer-

tainly have a major problem here. The buildings themselves are unsafe and it is not practically possible to convert more or less derelict buildings of this kind into acceptable offices conforming with modern standards." The choice for the above-ground buildings seems to lie between demolition and decay.

The undercroft, however, could be incorporated into the redevelopment. At any rate, Wates have not excluded this option. All is far from lost. A difficult decision for some body.

Opposite the Children's Hospital in Great Ormond Street is a toyshop with the following notice in its window: "No children admitted unless accompanied by adult." No doubt this is a sign of the times and a defence measure against the sticky-fingered. Less penetrable is the card in the window of the Bloomsbury Bookshop a few doors away which reads: "If you're under 25, come in and browse." On entering, all becomes clear: it must be one of the finest bookshops in London, if not the world. The young man behind the counter explained that they had been visited by an extremely portly browser

who, once installed, made it impossible for anybody else to get in or out.

Breakthrough for Oxfam

Oxfam, still pressing on with its great Kampuchean effort despite the setbacks experienced by the "big boys" of the United Nations and the Red Cross, has found a permanent solution to at least one problem in Kampuchea's ocean of troubles. It can exclusively disclose.

You cannot run a country these days without typewriters and the embattled Pol Pot regime destroyed practically every machine in the country as part of its campaign to expunge western influences. They have not proved easy to replace because Khmer-alphabet typewriters do not grow on trees.

Preparing for the republication of *The Times* last November, I found myself working simultaneously on an article about Oxfam's relief work in Kampuchea and another about the double "equat" at which used to be the Cambodian Embassy in St John's Wood, London.

During my inquiries on the latter, I met Mrs Liliane Edwards, a Frenchwoman married to an English film producer, who told me she had worked as a secretary at the embassy some 11 years ago. She now works in an architect's office nearby.

Mentioned Oxfam's typewriter problem, Mrs Edwards, after due reflection, said: "I never used the Khmer machines, of course, but I am sure they were Remingtons. I can remember that they made a deep thumping noise when in use, and I'm sure only a Remington would do that."

Then I happened to recall from my years in Westminster that Mrs Adams, typewriter company prided itself on its wide range of type-faces (I ordered a special one for myself, though not in Khmer). I passed on the names of the two manufacturers to Oxfam and thought no more about it.

Oxfam have now advised me that both Mrs Edwards' excellent memory and my own flypaper mind proved to be right. The charity contacted both firms to ask if they could deliver 500 Khmer machines, and received a positive answer in each case.

As it turned out, Adler

Don't explain Mrs Thatcher's TV appearance...



the weekend. Both firms had offered the machines at trade prices.

The typewriters, which will set Oxfam back £75,000 in all, will be despatched from a West German or Dutch port in two consignments, half at the end of March and the rest about a month later.

"In a way we hoped to place the order with Remington because it would have been their factory in Calcutta that got the work and it would have been good to provide a little employment in the Third World," said Miss Pawson. The German company is ready to provide after-sales service and training in use and maintenance.

The latest edition of *Old Moore's Almanack*, that uniquely eccentric pot pourri of astrology, self-improvement, advertisements, pools forecasts and special-order lucky charms first published in 1857, pre-

dicts a hard year for Britain, a fairly safe bet these days, but also prophesies the start of a national regeneration with moves towards a written constitution.

The dozen of Jonah's forecasts stagnation in world trade, higher unemployment, labour unrest, disruption in oil supplies, bad news from Northern Ireland and some kind of renewed nationalism in Scotland. He also predicts unrest in eastern Europe and political disruption within the Soviet Union itself. There can be no arguing with his contention that this is going to be a critical year for President Carter, whose chances of reelection lie rates as "good".

He hints at a major scandal in the Isle of Man this month, luddite attacks on computers in February, a big epidemic in March, a national scandal and a nasty budget in April and a miserable May for the entire world.

If you find this less than cheering, you can always answer the advertisement near the back offering information on the after-life, though at this rate you may be asking whether there is a life before death.

Dan van der Vat

مكتبة الأصيل

Le Monde
LA STAMPA
THE TIMES
DIE WELT

Europa

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Jean Baret sees signs of the emergence of another period of opportunities for change, the effects of which this time are likely to be on a worldwide scale, and details eight of the most important changes that are taking place

History's glacier is cleft: all things are possible

History advances by a process of continual evolution occasionally punctuated by abrupt shifts. When the latter occur, the ice-bank of opportunities for change breaks up and all things become possible. Men, political parties or regimes either use or miss these opportunities and then the ice-bank regains its former solidity.

Such periods are characterized by new developments in the life of societies and are therefore foreseeable. It would seem that we are today witnessing the emergence of new factors heralding one of these periods, but this time their effects are likely to be on a worldwide scale. The eight most important changes are:

The use of nuclear weaponry. The old deterrents probably saved us from a war between the two big powers during the 1950s, since the certainty that retaliatory action would destroy any aggressor's towns within half an hour of an attack was effectively the ultimate deterrent. However, the situation is changing. Within a few years the accuracy and numbers of missiles will have developed to such an extent that it will become possible for either side, as the aggressor, to neutralize the other side's retaliatory capability. There is no reason to believe that either of the big two would use its strike power in a balanced world, but other factors are precipitating us towards an imbalance. At all events, the possibility of a nuclear war of this type must be acknowledged. Here we have a first new factor.

The energy crisis. In the eyes of the public, it is considered to be the fault of the Arab sheikhs, but in fact it reflects the workings of the law of supply and demand (not to say might is right). Governments which understand this will seek a plausible motive for such a war. The end of non-intervention. In former times only a tiny (and often elitist) minority knew about the problems of the world and the decisions were conducive to a hypocritical ignorance of unpleasant facts. Thus non-intervention was possible. In today's world, in which television and radio feed a surfeit of information to the ordinary citizen, it is no longer possible to uphold a code of values at home while at the same time remaining on good terms with those who destroy it abroad.

President Carter is torn between human rights and the demands of realism. The first political victim in history of this new dichotomy. Already Uganda, the Central African Republic and the Helsinki agreements have many of the de facto and de jure in the list of changes create the possibility of war and a motive; this, the third, could one day supply moral justification for certain wars.

The resurgence of protectionism. The energy crisis has created the need for all-out export effort to maintain today's trade balances. This has led to the exporting of entire factories which will be delivering goods on to the world market, thus upsetting tomorrow's trade balances. The economists know that protectionism is a mistake, but the need to maintain employment and to pacify public opinion could lead to protectionism.

Behind protectionism there lurks autarky, which is often the prelude to nationalistic economic and political excesses. It is also the necessary structure for decisions motivated by excessive national egoism, a structure which can make for war, since it reduces interdependence to a minimum.

The challenge to majorities. Democracy rests on the concept of majority power. In a period of calm or better yet one of progress, the 49 per cent in the minority yield to the 51 per cent in the majority. This has not always been the case in periods of economic crisis (witness Hitler, Mussolini or Franco). Some minorities are already resorting to violence, already protesting, ecology or demands for regional autonomy.

These minority movements are very dangerous, and some of them are irresponsible. Corporatism, lobbies, the Basque, Breton and Corsican autonomists are all symptomatic of the emergence on the political scene of particularistic forces in opposition to the symbiotic structures represented by states and governments.

Democratic society rested on the general agreement achieved by these symbiotic powers, but they are developing cracks on all sides and for the present less to do more than paper them over. Majorities tend to react by opting for authoritarian structures which, although by no means "fascism", can lead to many an adventure, and therefore contain the potential for crisis.

New scientific developments: At a time when politics is already unfettered for coping with age-old problems, scientific discovery is creating new problems with each passing year. The atom is the classic example, but there will be others. For instance, it will be possible in a few years to choose the sex of one's children in advance. In our societies, with an average of 1.6 children per couple (with a marked preference for a male first-born), freedom of choice is likely to lead to a future generation in which there will be two men to every woman.

Think of the consequences for the family cell, which such a development would affect, but make artistically possible if governments allowed complete freedom of choice. If governments did intervene, would it mean that future parents would have to obtain official forms sanctioning their choice of sex? Abortion and contraception are already changing codes of values and behaviour patterns, but the problems are as nothing compared to those that lie ahead with this new development, which raises the whole question of genetic manipulation.

These abrupt changes in the old morality in the face of the advance of a new ethic cannot fail to disturb the existing political models. Even if the ethic which eventually emerges proves to be an improvement, the change is bound to create disruption, thus adding to the list of causes of crisis.

The failure of political models. In the past the alternative models of capitalism and socialism shared the favours and aspirations of the various classes. Today capitalist liberalism survives only by accepting state intervention, rejecting the laws of supply and demand in many instances and levelling excessive inequalities—all of which is contrary to its own logic. Socialism, for its part, is able to hold out only by applying constraints to human

liberties in a manner contrary to its philosophy and floundering in the illogicality of systems of planning to control markets, with the concomitant authoritarian economic centralism and the central political authority needed to manage them.

Centralism raises problems which have not been solved satisfactorily. Is it possible to fire the imaginations of young people with these models whose rationality is so inimical to the irrational qualities of hope, love, justice and fraternity? We are at a loss for a political solution which would provide us with the means to exercise control over our future and if we do not find one the outlook is bleak indeed. A research effort is needed to adapt these models to the harsh realities. The rising tide of mysticism. In this ultra-rationalized (or should I say standardized?) world, reason and irrationality are in diametrical opposition. The qualitative reaction—and how necessary it is—finds expression through a resurgence of what is known in philosophy as the sacred, as opposed to the profane. This is already happening. It is no accident that the Pope is able to mobilize the Roman Catholic crowds in Poland, or Khomeini the Islamic crowds in Iran.

The despair secreted by the world of rationality leads to the capitalization of hope in the irrationality of legend and myth. It is no accident that parapsychology and astrology are so popular. Malraux said that the twenty-first century would be mystical or nothing at all. It could of course be mystical and harmoniously peaceful, but it could also be mystical and cruelly demented because, depending on circumstances, the mystical vein produces either the saint or the inquisitor. Let us not forget that man is the only animal capable of waging an ideological war.

In the past man turned to philosophy for answers to the important questions about humanity and the cosmos. He has done so for 3,000 years. Tomorrow it will be biology, astronomy and quantum physics that give us the answers. This will generate new philosophies and with them, new policies. In the meantime, we lack a star to guide us. Where are the wise men who will discover the new star?

I am not a pessimist. Man will overcome these obstacles. Nevertheless, a lucid approach to the difficulties is necessary. Profound changes have always led to holocausts and I fear the one which threatens us now even if, by its extremes, it engenders a new and better human society which our generation will unfortunately never see, because it will have to live through the period of change.

Madam President, France is the country where the press and people in politics are most critical of what you have been doing in the European Parliament, much more than in Italy or West Germany for instance. Are they not getting at M Valéry Giscard d'Estaing's European policy through you? Is your policy merely the same as his?

It is a fact that I led the European list which claimed to represent the policies of the President of the Republic. This does not mean that my views on everything are aligned with his. As President of the European Parliament, moreover, I am not particularly anxious to have a clearly defined line of my own, but am more concerned to represent the majority view of our assembly, as it emerges.

Do you mean by this that it is not possible to guide the majority and that it has to be followed?

It is impossible to guide it, or at least to support it, particularly in its image. It has to demonstrate that it is working effectively and responding, in part at least, to the hopes placed in it. This is the underlying purpose of the programme which we have planned for the next three months.

Which topics will be covered? Subjects which we considered priority issues, beginning with employment, then energy, on which we feel there should have been a common policy at an earlier stage, then agricultural policy and finally the problem of hunger in the world, a subject which we have already debated and on which our committee on development and cooperation does a lot of work.

Regarding employment, is it not likely that an assembly such as yours, with a conservative majority, has made difficulties for itself by choosing this issue on which it cannot give full satisfaction to such as the trade unions and the parties of the left?

Whatever the predominant tendency of the Assembly—and that is a matter which could be discussed at length—detailed consideration of working hours and work organization could yield many ideas of potential usefulness to governments.

It is not easy to imagine this Assembly coming out massively in favour of the 35 hour week. Are things that simple? For instance, I find that not enough consideration has been given to the arrangement of working hours and part-time work—and here I do not refer exclusively to women. There are plenty of interesting proposals to put forward and changes to be obtained.

You do not care to hear the Parliament described as "conservative". Are you afraid that its conservative image will rub off on you because you have been its president?

First of all, I aim to be the President of the whole assembly. Moreover, I hope to see the emergence of majorities which are not rigidly determined by political affiliations. In fact I have noticed on several occasions that a given political group does not automatically react to a given issue in the way one might have predicted.

Another point to bear in mind is that, in Europe, government coalitions vary from country to country. Does national discipline replace party discipline in voting when it comes to the defence of individual countries' interests?

This does happen, but I find that in general, even though they may defend electoral interests, members of the European Parliament do try to cast aside national policies, even when this is not easy. I also find that, within the political groups, efforts are made to make concessions to national frontiers in order to establish common positions. Some genuinely European work is going on inside the political groups themselves.

What do you think of the European Radicals?

They are as much members of this Parliament as the others. From now on the new rules afford them scope to express themselves with all the prerogatives enjoyed by members of a political group, while at the same time preventing them from obstructing proceedings. They contribute interesting ideas.

Is it true that you sometimes take liberties when applying the rules of procedure of the Assembly?

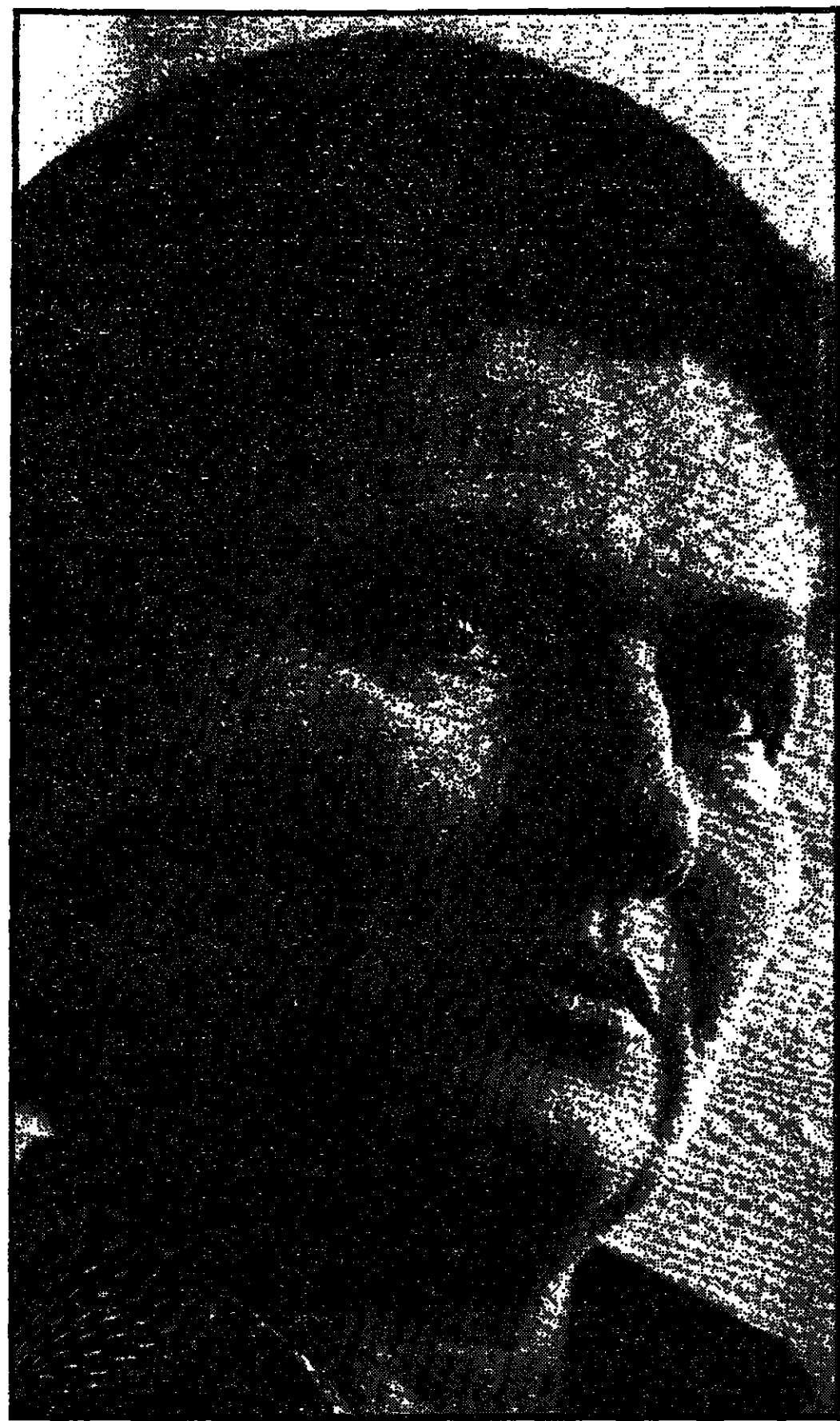
It is best to apply them strictly, but who could be consistent at all times in applying rules which are no longer suited to the new Assembly, when hundreds if not thousands of amendments have been tabled to a text which consists of only a few articles?

Do any difficulties arise out of the fact that the parties in the Assembly do not correspond exactly to the representation of the national parties?

This depends on a variety of factors. For instance, the British have only two political groups in the Parliament, one of which is the very large Conservative group. This is both an advantage and a disadvantage. On the one hand, they can agree upon joint positions which cover, but on the other hand they have no influence outside their two groups.

Talking about Britain, what do you think of the new wave of women prime ministers? We now find this phenomenon in Portugal and even in South America, where it makes a pleasant change from the military regimes. Is this merely a

The next 20 years are unlikely to see any sudden development in European integration. In this interview with Jacqueline Grapin, Mme Simone Veil, President of the European Parliament, suggests that greater unity will be achieved through a response to issues as they arise rather than through the establishment of institutions



normal phenomenon to do with the advancement of women or is it due to the powerlessness of men in difficult circumstances?

I do not think that it has anything to do with the powerlessness of men. We have already had Mrs Indira Gandhi and Mrs Golda Meir, but they were exceptional cases and they each came to power at special moments in history. Mrs Thatcher was the first woman to become a prime minister in the career of a normal political leader. Her predecessor as the leader of the Conservatives, Mr Heath, lost the support of the majority of his party and she was elected leader and came into power in the same way as any other political leader. What could be said is that this helped to unfreeze some mentalities.

Other countries will now be less reluctant to put women into power, given this example. However, three countries out of the entire world do not amount to very much and, apart from the European Parliament, where there is a higher proportion of women than in national parliaments, women's involvement in political life around the world is still on a very low level.

Mrs Thatcher has taken up a very hard position on European affairs and the budgetary and agricultural issues in particular, not only on the substance of the cases but also in the style which she has adopted. In her place would you have taken a similar course?

I believe that, in general, women have a different style in politics from that observed in their other areas of responsibility. They are more direct. Mrs Thatcher simply said what she thought, without hedging it about, and this is what shocked people. This style which eschews diplomacy and care in the use of words is a rather feminine thing.

Do you believe that this method produces the desired results more or less quickly? Is it economical of resources or does it create blockages which then have to be sorted out?

I believe that compromise is a part of life and that every possible avenue for compromise should be explored in the first place. In discussions with your counterparts, you cannot expect to get everything you are asking for. But picking your demands at a very high level from the outset is perhaps one way of getting more. At all events, if we are to get on in the Community, there has to be a certain amount of give and take.

Although it seems clear that it is going to be necessary to re-discuss the workings of the agricultural common market, is it not difficult to ask a country such as France to make major

concessions on the benefits which it has acquired when nothing is offered in return? Do you not think that it would be easier to solve this problem, as you say, in a spirit of give and take, and why not by throwing British North Sea oil into the scales and creating an as yet non-existent energy common market?

This is precisely what has been suggested by various of Britain's partners as a development of the Dublin discussions. In practice, the wider the field of negotiation, the easier it is to establish a compromise and therefore to reach agreement.

Can the Parliament make proposals for compromise linking various issues, such as agriculture and energy?

To a certain extent this is what it has already done with its budgetary proposals, which called for a reduction in the agricultural surpluses combined with an increase in other funds. The aim was to reduce the concentration on agricultural policy and to widen European policy to other spheres, the budget being seen as the medium for doing this.

The way things have turned out, has not the European Parliament effectively been pleading the cause of Britain?

On certain issues, the concerns of the Parliament coincide with those of Britain. It is anxious to reduce the surpluses. However, it has never been its intention to call the Common Agricultural Policy into question. This is only a small part of the problems with which the British are concerned. Moreover the vote on the budget was won by a very large majority and the council of ministers of agriculture, while regretting that the issue came up on the budget vote, has admitted that the problem needed to be aired.

Do you believe that the rejection of the budget, for the first time in the history of the European Parliament, created a major institutional crisis?

There is no institutional crisis at all. The contingency of the rejection of the budget is dealt with specifically by Article 203 of the Treaty of Rome, which also lays down the procedure to be followed in such an eventuality. The Parliament has accordingly merely used its prerogative to express its disagreement with the budget proposals forwarded to it so that new proposals could be submitted to it. Let us not forget that, only last year, the conditions under which the budget was passed gave rise to a legal imbroglio which was not easy to disentangle.

Is it possible at this stage to assess the work of the new Par-

liament after its first six months?

It is a little early. The new Parliament has had to make a great effort to organize its own affairs. The teething problems were foreseeable; indeed they were to be expected. Apart from those arising out of the unsuitable rules, I should mention those associated with the special features of our Assembly, whose working conditions are complicated by the need to operate in so many languages and the presence of representatives of nine countries whose parliamentary practice and traditions vary widely. Moreover, we had to organize the committee work in advance of the plenary session so that substantial reports were available on any given subject.

Finally, it was no easy matter to adapt the administrative machinery to the requirements of 410 members instead of the 198 of the previous parliament, bearing in mind, for instance, that all the documentation has to be produced in six languages. This has required an enormous effort, not least from the Parliament's civil servants. In the early stages we experienced difficulties in limiting the agenda, believing that we could tackle all the problems confronting Europe by devoting some attention to each. Now, however, there is evidence of a willingness to approach each issue in turn and to tackle in the agenda only those for which proper preparation has been made with a view to a debate.

In the given context, was it not imprudent to kick off in September with a topic concerned with defence?

It has not been said often enough that there was nothing extraordinary about that agenda. There had already been a report on the harmonization of industrial policies on armaments procurement. The rapporteur had asked what had become of it. What could be more normal? I cannot imagine any grounds on which this request could have been refused, since this issue had been debated on numerous occasions by the former Assembly.

Technically speaking, that is beyond question but, politically, it is perhaps less clear-cut, since there was such virulent criticism. As President of the European Parliament and a leading figure in French politics, are you not afraid that this job is putting you in the position of attracting the crossfire of disagreement between the RPR and the UDF in the French majority, since the European policies of these two parties are very different?

This is certainly true to some extent. But when one takes a decision, one must accept the consequences. Apart from the

personal aspect, I very much regret the repercussions of these criticisms on the Parliament's image, especially when they are unjustified. In the event the Parliament was not in any way seeking to extend its powers to defence. It had already debated the same issue and it was merely returning to it and discussing the same very specific aspect. It was only when Parliament was sitting that some emotions were aroused, whereas during the meeting of the bureau no one had thought that there was anything extraordinary about it.

Would you be in favour of giving elected members of the European Parliament seats at the Western European Union, which is the European body with competence for defence matters? The present national representatives there are appointed and do not have much authority.

I do not think so. Having been elected to the European Parliament, which in principle has no competence in these matters, they would be in an ambiguous position. Should they be elected directly to the Western European Union?

This is another matter which is outside my competence. When you look forward to Europe in the year 2000, what do you hope to see and what do you realistically expect?

It is difficult for me to answer your question, because I have found that whenever one tries to make forecasts 20 years ahead, one gets them wrong. First you have to make various assumptions. If there is a grave international crisis, some sort of worldwide conflict, it seems to me that Europe will inevitably close ranks in order to face up to it, but then it will hardly have much time to concern itself with institutions.

There would be "summits", councils of ministers, etc.?

Yes. Otherwise, assuming that there will be no such conflagration and that we continue to have a tense situation as I believe will be the case, with many economic problems, energy difficulties and slower growth than a few years ago, Europe will very gradually take shape. I do not believe that the next 20 years will see any sudden development in the direction of integration, unless some exceptional personality emerges to inspire a new European mood.

I believe that these are the kind of European unification is not proceeding fast enough fail to take account of historical perspective. Set against two millennia of history, 20 years is a very short period. Much can happen during that time, but the institutions are scarcely evolved any more quickly.

Given the enormous range of potential challenges from such sources as the United States, Japan, the Soviet Union and the Third World, not to dwell unduly on the Islamic problem, can Europe move towards greater unity?

I hope and believe that it will become more unified. But I think that this will happen through its response to issues and problems as they arise rather than through the establishment of institutions. It is the role of our Assembly to inspire such Community policies.

Do you have more faith in a Europe built on joint projects than in a political Europe?

In a sense, yes. It is difficult to predict areas in which developments will occur, but it is equally difficult to believe that energy will not be one of them. Quite apart from that, Europe has displayed a great capacity for cooperation in energy since 1973.

This is true, but such cooperation is desirable and should become a reality by dint of necessity. Culture, on the other hand, is a sector in which there will be European initiatives, but in which specifically national characteristics will continue to predominate. On the industrial side, I imagine that we could see more products of this type in such areas as remote data-processing and space. As for the institutions, everything will depend on whether or not a forceful personality emerges to exert decisive influence on their development.

And the Parliament itself? The development of the European Parliament itself is difficult to visualize because I do not think that it can evolve autonomously. The political powers collectively represent a balance and the Parliament exists in relation to that balance.

Are you not concerned by the fact that Europe is on the sidelines of the major international events of the day? This is not the case in certain areas. For instance, Europe has made its voice heard in connection with South-east Asia and the Cambodian tragedy. Europe has done most to arouse humanitarian feelings over this issue. There is certainly one important area of international relations in which Europe is not playing its part. This is on the monetary side, but this is a position that it has chosen, preferring a policy of disarmament by the big two to a policy of engaging in the arms race itself.

You have not said whether you see Europe in the year 2000 as having disarmed, armed itself more heavily or remaining in today's halfway situation.

I would hope that Europe will be no more heavily armed than it is at present and that the two great powers will have made progress along the road to disarmament. Is that clear enough?

That seems like wishful thinking. Yes. My wishes for this year.

Facts and figures

Monetary policy is really beginning to bite

	quality of growth			maintenance of growth		
	rate of growth	prices	unemployment	productive capacity	foreign trade	vulnerability to external factors
GERMANY	●●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●●
FRANCE	●●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●●
ITALY	●●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●●
BRITAIN	●●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●●	●●●●●

Our European governments' attention remains focused on the American economy, which continues to exert a preponderant influence, not only by virtue of its level of activity (although Western countries are not necessarily in phase with one another), but still more by developments in inflation. Interest rates and the strength of the dollar. The recent pattern has been unclear: the statistical returns have produced many contradictions and a few surprises. For instance, the growth rate in gnp for the third quarter has been revised upwards to 3.1 per cent.

Two much more recent statistics point in the same direction: in November, retail sales leapt by 1.8 per cent and, to everyone's surprise, the unemployment rate fell from 6 per cent to 5.8 per cent, with an increase of 350,000 in the number of people in employment, whereas it had been expected that the large number of redundancies, especially in the motor industry, would cause a deterioration.

However, there are also plenty of indications that the new restrictive monetary policy launched on October 6 by Mr Volcker, chairman of the Federal Reserve Board, with its direct depressant effect on liquidity, is really beginning to bite. Consumer

credit has started to decline (with advances of \$2,200m in October compared with \$4,400m in September), car sales, which depend to a large extent on hire purchase, have slackened (down 15 per cent in November) and so have housing starts (down 8 per cent), probably as a reaction to the high mortgage rates.

Industrial output, too, fell by 0.5 per cent in November. The slowing in the pace of monetary growth is another indicator pointing in the same direction. The prime rate, having reached a peak of 15.75 per cent as recently as November 17, has been cut to 15.5 per cent, then 15.25 per cent and even 15 per cent.

It is doubtful, however, whether this fall in the prime rate can go very far. In the opinion of one expert, Mr Kaufmann of Salomon Brothers, further rises in the early part of this year cannot be ruled out. For the downward trend to continue, slackening activity and weakening demand for credit are not enough in themselves. A firmer dollar and a substantially reduced inflation rate are needed, and here the prospects are doubtful.

On the one hand, political events are placing the American currency under pressure. On the other hand, the combi-

nation of the consequences of the most recent oil price increases and perverse effects within the United States (for example, high interest rates pushing up the cost of housing, which was the main factor in the October rise in the index) does not augur well for any early reduction in the rate at which retail prices are advancing (more than 13 per cent a year over the past three months).

The trade unions believe that, by showing restraint, they have borne the brunt of the lost battle against inflation and are now adopting a more combative approach in their determination to make up lost ground. Even at Chrysler, for all that company's troubles, they have secured increases totalling 30 per cent over three years, much to the displeasure of Mr Kahn, director of the council for wage and price stability, who accordingly opposed the granting of government guarantees to the company.

Interest rates in our four European countries are, in general, still on an upward trend. They are being forced up by the sharp increase in American rates, often at a remove in time, and also by rising inflation. The most striking example is Italy, where the discount rate has been raised twice on occasions, first from 10.5 per cent to 12 per cent,

and then by three full points to 15 per cent. Admittedly, inflation in Italy is running at more than 20 per cent and, moreover, the lira has weakened after the decision by Saudi Arabia to stop oil deliveries.

Under these circumstances the authorities, advised by the former Governor of the Bank of Italy, Signor Guido Carli, decided to accelerate the upward trend in interest rates. These, since they are still lagging behind prices, have probably not yet reached their peak, unless a return to wage restraint can be initiated by revision of the system of wage indexation, an unlikely prospect in the present political and industrial relations climate.

It is interesting to make a comparison with Britain, where the discount rate has also been raised by three points to 17 per cent, which observers had scarcely expected. Here again, any decrease in rates will be conditioned by what happens in the United States, but also by the domestic rate of inflation. Like Italy, Britain has seen its inflation rate rise above 20 per cent (calculated on the past three months).

It has since come back to 15 per cent, but with public service pay increases in the pipeline, it is likely to rise again soon. In the longer term much will depend on wages; recent settlements have resulted in large pay awards of between 15 per cent and 20 per cent, and Sir Geoffrey Exchequer, believes that employers are being too generous, having been misled by inflation into misreading the true meaning of their results.

Nevertheless, there are some indications that the wages tide is turning: the miners' acceptance, in a secret ballot in which they voted against the recommendations of their union executive, of a 20 per

PRICES

consumer price index

AVERAGE

DIVERGENCE FROM AVERAGE

FOREIGN TRADE

INDUSTRIAL GROWTH

UNEMPLOYMENT

ITALY

FRANCE

GERMANY

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James Rothman looks at forecasts for the decade

Energy is the present obsession

The forecasts which have been made about the coming decade reflect the topics which countries are concerned and the degree to which they are interested in taking a long-term view. Energy is revealed as the present obsession.

The business information service Predicasts holds a data bank of forecasts taken from 2,500 journals throughout the world. Analysis of this shows that only about 2 per cent of the forecasts made for the Europe countries or the EEC as a whole cover as long a period as 10 years and have been made recently. There are some 200 long-term forecasts in the subject areas of population, employment, national income and expenditure, production and business activity vehicles—and energy. Over half of these long-range forecasts are on energy, oil or related topics. This shows the way energy dominates national and international planning.

Germany is the Europe country most prone to report energy forecasts and France the least. It may be, however, that forecasts are a substitute for, instead of an incentive to, action. After all France plans to produce 20 per cent more electricity from nuclear energy by 1990 than Germany. France is also revising its forecasts upwards while objections in Germany are forcing a downward revision (1).

Germany is also the country most ready to publish 10-year forecasts on other topics besides energy. Italy, not France is the country most reluctant to take a long view on these. When we reviewed the success of forecasts made 10 years ago in last month's Europa we commented that a range rather than a single figure might be more meaningful. Few of the forecasts listed quoted ranges. As a substitute the table shows

Forecasts for the 1980s

	Population	Annual rate of change (%) in:		
		Labour force ⁽¹⁾	gnp	gnp per capita
Italy	.43	.52	4.2	3.3-3.9 ⁽²⁾
OECD ⁽¹⁾			4.7-7.1	
France	.44	.58	4.0-4.1 ⁽¹⁾	3.4-3.6 ⁽²⁾
OECD ⁽¹⁾			3.8-5.4	
Germany	-.42	-.20	3.1-3.5 ⁽²⁾	3.4-3.7 ⁽²⁾
OECD ⁽¹⁾			3.0-4.9	
UK	.14	.52	2.1-3.1 ⁽²⁾	2.8-2.9 ⁽²⁾
OECD ⁽¹⁾			2.8-3.1	
EEC	.19-4.1 ⁽²⁾	.38	3.3-3.8 ⁽²⁾	3.6 ⁽²⁾
OECD ⁽¹⁾			2.4-5.2	

	Prices (gnp deflator)	Annual rate of change (%) in:		
		Oil imports	Energy consumption	Unemployment in 1990
Italy	9	2.0-2.7 ⁽²⁾	4.3	10.4
France	8	-0.2-1.6 ⁽¹⁾	3.7-4.1 ⁽¹⁾	9.5
Germany	4.5	1.1-1.3 ⁽¹⁾	1.6-2.6 ⁽²⁾	8.9
UK	9	1.1	1.9	10.5
EEC	7.6	0.0-0.8 ⁽¹⁾	3.1-3.8 ⁽¹⁾	n.a.

⁽¹⁾ Interludes: UK becomes a net exporter * Conseil Economique et Social, June 1979.

Source: Except where otherwise indicated forecasts in Predicasts data bank ⁽¹⁾ number of forecasts in range.

for gross national product and energy the highest and lowest figure when the Predicasts data bank contained more than one worthwhile estimate.

Also included in the table are figures taken from the Interludes study (2) referred to by Philippe Beymann last month. This report modelled the future on the basis of six alternative scenarios or sets of assumptions. The only national figures are for the strong and moderate growth cases and in both national productivity is assumed to converge towards a common level. The EEC range is wider because of estimates for other scenarios. The lowest value quoted for 1990 is for a situation in which growth slows but the developed countries continue to diverge in their productivity levels along the lines discussed in last month's Europa (3). The major economic groups are also assumed to adopt a protectionist policy towards each other.

None of the countries will show much growth in population over the next 10 years and Germany will actually experience a reduction. There will, however, be increases in the proportion of the population who are available to work (4). In spite of this, national economies are expected to grow only slightly more rapidly than in the 1970s. As we saw last month, forecasters in 1969 were too prone to believe that past trends would continue. They could be making the same mistake again, in the sense that they have covered on too narrow a range of values. The Organization of Economic Cooperation and Development figures for the EEC escape this pitfall.

The figures in the different columns have generally come from different original sources. Consequently they need not be consistent with each other. In the United Kingdom, for example, gnp per capita if calculated indirectly from forecast changes in gnp and population would range between growth rates of 2.0 per cent a year and 3.2 per cent instead of 2.8 per cent to 2.9 per cent as shown in the table. In either case the figures all

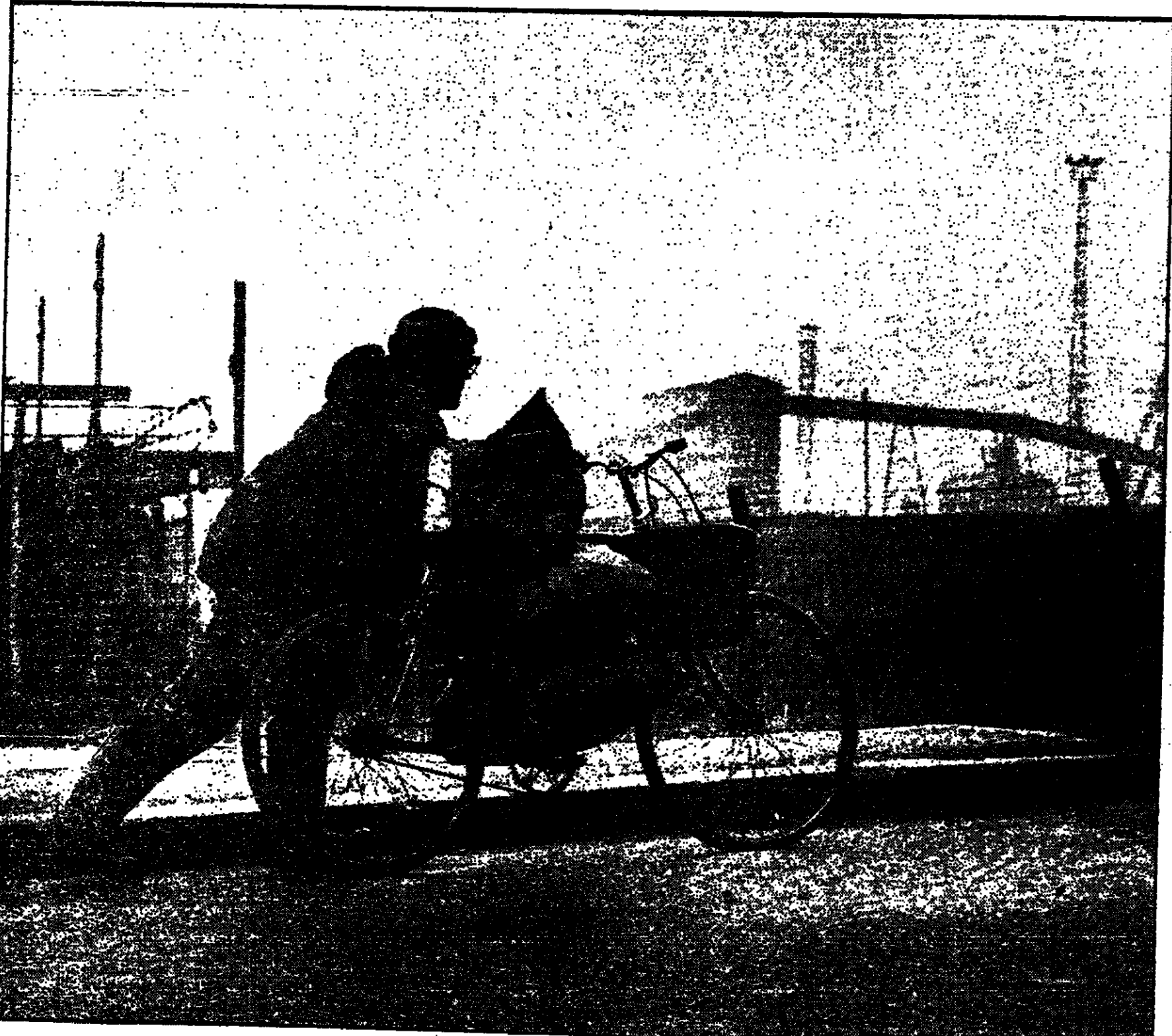
suggest the standard of living measured in terms of gnp per capita will improve in the continental countries by 3 to 4 per cent a year but the rate of growth in the United Kingdom will lag behind by a half to one percentage point each year. Because of the effects of compound growth this means that over a 10-year period the standard of living on the Continent would improve by more than 40 per cent while in the United Kingdom it will rise by less than a third.

National growth figures such as these do not reflect the distortions caused by exchange rate changes. In Interludes (2) even on the extreme assumption of moderate divergent growth, Japan in 1990 in terms of 1970 dollars is forecast to have a lower gross domestic product per capita than North America. At present exchange rates Japan is already treading on the United States heels. Ideally comparative forecasts over long periods should be made in terms of purchasing power parities so that exchange rate induced changes in the price of imported goods can be taken into account.

It looks from the table as if stagflation will continue. Prices will rise fast enough to more than double during the decade everywhere, except in Germany and by 1990 unemployment will be about 7 per cent in Germany and 10 per cent elsewhere.

One of the causes of these gloomy prognoses is that in the 1980s the controlling factor of production is likely to be, not labour or capital, but energy. Indeed it is arguable that instead of measuring efficiency in terms of output per man-hour or earnings on capital employed we should start looking at industries in terms of value added per kWh.

The table suggests that with the exception of Germany which may be more hopeful of achieving conservation, energy consumption will grow at about the same rate as the economy as a whole. Not surprisingly the EEC Commission finds the picture incompatible with the stark necessity of limiting oil imports (5). As our table shows, oil imports into France, Ger-



An unemployed man in the north-east of England with coal gleaned from the beach. Unemployment in the United Kingdom could rise steeply this decade. Photograph: Brian Harris.

many and Italy will rise quite slowly. United States demand for oil imports, however, is expected to increase by 5.3 per cent a year so that between 1976 and 1990 they will more than double (6), (7).

Another way to get a wide range of forecasts is to carry out a survey. SRI International (8) surveyed more than 1,000 executives in more than 25 countries to find out their view of prospects for the 1980s. The executives also thought

energy would be a difficulty. Even so, they may have been too optimistic. Most thought oil producing and exporting countries' oil prices would rise in line with inflation at least until 1985 but some of those most involved with oil thought they would rise even faster. Further, oil importers were expecting oil import levels into the United States to fall. As we have seen, the official forecast to the International Energy Agency is that they will rise substantially. In Europe unemployment, justifiably in view of the table, was thought likely to constrain government policy, create political unrest and be a major problem.

Inflation was seen as another major destabilizing force. Interestingly enough the executives considered it was not so much the average rate of inflation as the uncertainty caused by fluctuations above or below that rate and their impact on foreign exchange which would cause difficulties. If for example industry had a clear view of the future course of oil prices it would then be more likely to invest in energy-saving buildings and plant.

A severe recession was often mentioned as a possibility for the early 1980s in the United Kingdom and United States but there was thought to be less chance of this happening in Western Europe. The growth industries were expected to be electronics followed by medicine, biology and food. Interludes (2) also considered that besides the obvious area of electronics, bio-industry—the application of biology to industry—would be an important growth area along with the development of new forms of energy and, if legal problems were resolved, the recovery of minerals from the sea bed.

Finally it is worth considering whether we will continue to rely so heavily on forecasts to deal with change in 10 years' time. As we have seen, forecasts, though useful, are fallible. For this reason Interludes talks of "managing the unpredictable" and says that governments should "create conditions in which the most favourable developments can occur and reduce the risks of breakdowns and procure the means of coping

with them if they should occur". It is to be hoped that government and industry will adopt this approach of making it easier to adapt to change so that it is less necessary for them to try to foresee it.

1. Energy Objectives for the Community for 1990. EEC, 1979.
2. Facing the Future, OECD, 1979.
3. Europa, November, 1979.
4. See also Europa, August, 1978.
5. As (1) above.
6. OECD Observer July, 1979.
7. See also Lucas, Europa, November, 1979.
8. Leading Edge, SRI International, spring, 1979.

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مكتبة الأصيل

The range of personalities elected to the European Parliament ensures that the institution, whatever its political limitations, is not lacking in vitality. These two articles review the style of the assembly and some of the characters who sit in it

Stateless politicians or struggling idealists?

At the new European Parliament, some members have already made their mark—outstanding linguists, chairmen of multinationals, or dedicated human rights campaigners.

The British Conservatives include some of the most accomplished members.

Mr David Curry, aged 35, won a Kennedy Scholarship in 1966 to study in the United States, where he attended Dr Henry Kissinger's lectures at Harvard. He speaks perfect French and is married to a French woman. He is a journalist and has been in charge of European affairs on the *Financial Times* since 1975.

He makes no bones about the reasons for his presence in Strasbourg. "After Brussels and Paris, I would be limiting my horizons if I went back to live in London, where they are still debating the issues of 20 years ago, such as the distribution of wealth," he said. "But the root of the problem lies elsewhere: the United Kingdom has lost its position in the world, so we need new ideas."

This is why, he confided, "I am a political 'friend' elected to the European Parliament, not because they are exporting intrinsically British ideas."

Another journalist is Lord Nicholas Bethell, aged 41, who has worked for the BBC and published a biography of Wladyslaw Gombulka. Educated at Harrow, he reads Arabic and speaks Russian. He has been in the European Parliament since 1975 and has specialised in human rights in the Soviet block, where he is no longer allowed to travel.

The most gifted linguist of the 410 is probably Mr Robert Battersby, aged 35. He is educated in Russian and modern Greek at Cambridge and studied at the Sorbonne. He also speaks Italian, Spanish and German, and has some knowledge of Arabic, Chinese and several Central European languages. Before becoming a principal administrator in the European Commission in Brussels, Mr Battersby acquired sound business experience as sales manager of the building company Contractors Ltd.

Mr Battersby's contemporary Sir David Nicholson is chairman of Rothmans International, and was chairman of British Airways from 1971 to 1975. Nor is he the only senior executive of a multinational among the British members in Strasbourg. Mr Peter Seazley, aged 57, is one of ICI's managers in Europe. He speaks four foreign languages and knows West Germany particularly well, having lived there for seven years.

Mr Madron Seligman is marketing director of the 60-company APV Group, but this, perhaps tells us less about the man than his Harrow education, his membership of the Royal Institute of Foreign Affairs and the Royal Thames Yacht Club, and his hobbies: music, gardening and cricket.

Miss Norvela Forster, a walking enthusiast and squash player, has no reason to be intimidated by these men. She is chairman of her own marketing consultancy and an officer of the British Association of Women Company Directors.

Of the Tory Lords, one of the most striking personalities at the European Parliament is Baroness Diana Elles, a barrister educated not only in England but also at the Sacred Heart in Florence and the Cours Dupanloup in Paris. She was a wartime WRAF officer. The Baroness sat in the European Parliament before the elections and was a member of the British delegation to the United Nations, after which she wrote a report for the United Nations on the rights of aliens.

She had the idea of forming the European Youth Orchestra, which Mr Edward Heath conducted.

Another member of the nobility is the young Marquess of Douro, a director of an American investment company who is also a farmer and a member of the National Farmers' Union. Lord O'Hagan is roughly the same age (34) and went to Eton, which did not prevent him from turning up in jeans to the pre-election Party, where he sat as an independent and was wont to adopt an anti-establishment stance. He now sports a suit of impeccable cut, which could have something to do with his marriage to Princess Tamara Imersheim.

The former counsellor at the British Embassy in Paris, Mr John de Courcy Ling, summarized the views of the "cherries in Strasbourg": "The future of Europe is in the centre and depends on understanding between M. Giscard d'Estaing's party and the British Conservatives." He was not afraid to add that "the two countries are lucky enough to have the support of the German economy" as though West Germany had no political weight. Last but not least of these blue-blooded British members, Lord Harnham Nicholls, aged 67, has served in the Indian Army and was a one-stage opponent to Britain's entry into the Community.

Unlike this old soldier of the British Empire, two members are so committed to the European cause that one acquired dual nationality and the other changed his nationality in order to gain a seat in the European Parliament. The first of these is the son of the last Emperor of Austria, Archduke Otto de Habsburg, who, although retaining his Austrian nationality, acquired West German citizenship in order to gain election on the Bavarian

Social Christian list. The other is Mr Jiri Pelikan, a Czech political refugee since the Soviet invasion of his country in 1968, who was stripped of his nationality and took Italian citizenship in order to stand as a Socialist.

"I am so completely European that this did not represent the slightest problem to me," the archduke explained. "Moreover, I have spoken of Jiri Pelikan and our approaches are parallel, since we want to show by our presence that East Europe, where there are no human rights, is not forgotten."

For the Archduke, Europe means above all a common culture founded on the individual rights established by Christianity, all of which is a cry from the European pagan.

The Archduke devoted part of his European electoral campaign in Bavaria to the adoption of French as the *lingua franca* of Europe, and he now chairs a European Parliament study group on the French language which was set up this autumn. Thus an Austro-German citizen finds himself at the head of a transnational committee made up of French, Italian, German, Spanish, Dutch, and Flemish members, including Signorina Susanna Agnelli, sister of the head of Fiat, Belgians (including Mme Antoinette Spaak of the Front des Francophones), and French members of all political creeds, notably the Académicien M. Maurice Druon, the former Minister for Cultural Affairs.

In his political group, the European People's Party, the Archduke sits alongside the former President of the Bundestag and the European Christian Democratic Group, Herr Kai-Uwe von Hassel, the instigator of the European Parliament debate on arms. Some of Herr von Hassel's French colleagues were bitterly critical of him for having attempted to widen the powers of the Parliament, especially in view of his position at the head of the Western European Union, whose province this was.

Among the other leading international figures, several are members of the Social Democratic Party (SPD), Herr Oskar Vetter, president of the powerful confederation of German trade unions (IGB), represents the West German labour movement. Frau Luise Herklotz is one of Herr Willy Brandt's supporters concerned with cultural affairs, leading a European committee on the protection of the architectural and

cultural heritage of the old Continent.

Of the French, several members of the *Union pour la Démocratie Française* (UDF), such as M Jean Lecanuet and M Pierre Pflimlin, have always been convinced Europeans and, moreover, played an important role under the Fourth Republic in the launching of the Community. Few of them, however, have experience of Asia, with the limited exception of M Edgar Faure, a former prosecutor at Nuremberg and one of the founders of France's recognition of China in 1964.

Other exceptions can be found among the Socialist members, such as Dr Gerard Jacuet, vice-president of the European

the stateless persons of politics, ready year in and year out to espouse lost causes, mean and narrow-minded front men for pressure groups who do not give a fig for Europe and only look after their own interests?

Or, on the other hand, brave champions of a community ideal which is still struggling to make progress; pioneers of a futuristic concept "that goes beyond parties", in which everyone, whether representing the powerful or the most insignificant minorities, shall have the same opportunity to make his voice heard.

Somewhere between these two extremes is the somewhat hasty new—which is in danger of becoming consolidated with time—that tends to be formed of the European Parliament. The truth, as usual, lies somewhere in the middle, a truth which above anything else must be anchored to the rise and fall of hopes and disappointments that have seen the light of day since the historic vote on June 10.

There is no doubt—and it would be foolish to deny it—that the Community Assembly, voted into power by the direct suffrage of the nine EEC countries, arose from beneath a banner of indifference and general apathy. Another useless organization, it was said at the time, that would be costly and above all ineffective, bearing

the formation of a committee on human rights in the European Parliament. (The Council of Europe already has one.) As a practical measure, he got as many members as would agree to sign a petition for the release of 10 Czechoslovak Charter 77 campaigners who had been arrested.

An old friend of Mr Pelikan—the two men have known each other for 30 years—is another who could not be accused of apathy. This is Signor Marco Pannella, who had actually invited Mr Pelikan to stand as a candidate for the Radical party but, as he acknowledged, "I fully understand that he could have been uncomfortable about some of our policies."

Indeed the Italian Radicals have been making a name for themselves with their campaign in Italy in favour of divorce, abortion, conscientious objection and homosexual rights. Signor Pannella had a brush with the Sofia authorities in 1968 when demonstrating against the entry by Warsaw Pact troops into Czechoslovakia.

The other Radical members are no laggards when it comes to militancy. Signora Emma Bonino, aged 31, was arrested in June, 1975 and spent several days in prison before being released on bail. The Italian authorities still accuse her (she has not yet been tried) of being an accessory to abortions by running a pregnancy termina-

tion advice bureau. She has since won a seat in the Italian Parliament and is a convinced feminist. However, she intends to extend her horizons beyond this cause and become a spokesman of minorities.

The other Radical member is more of an intellectual, but no conformist. The "enfant terrible" of communism, Signora Maria-Antonietta Macciocchi gained her seat after the recent resignation of Signor Leonardo Sciascia, the Sicilian writer who decided to restrict himself to the single mandate of being an Italian Member of Parliament so that he could take a close hand in the proceedings of the commission of inquiry into the assassination of the Christian Democrat leader, Signor Aldo Moro.

Before being elected as Member of Parliament for Naples in 1968, Signora Macciocchi had been a long-serving militant in the Italian Communist party, which she joined in 1942. But she claims that she has never been a Stalinist. Admittedly, she was rather unsettling in her proclaimed sympathy for the 1968 student movement. Moreover, the interest in the Chinese experiment which she showed in her book *De la Chine*, published in 1971, marked the beginning of her estrangement from the Italian Communist party.

Relations continued to deteriorate thereafter, because of her hostility to the formula of the historic compromise between Communists and Christian Democrats. In the end her attendance at the far-left rally held in September, 1977, in Bologna—the cradle of Italian communism—led to her exclusion from the Communist Party.

These Italian militants are not on strange territory in Strasbourg, however. Signor Pannella has been the Paris correspondent of *Il Giorno*, Signora Macciocchi has lived in France for much of the time since 1962; a former Paris correspondent of the Communist daily *L'Unità*, she now lectures in sociology at Vincennes University and, recently, at the Sorbonne, she presented a political science thesis on her collected works.

Indeed, the Radical party consciously seeks to be internationalist in its causes, in its attitude and in its choice of leadership. Significantly, its president is a Frenchman, M Jean Fabre, aged 32, who in 1977 was sentenced, in his absence, by the armed forces standing tribunal to four months' imprisonment for sending back his national service papers. He was sent to

Frances prison late in October, and party members were refused leave by the French authorities to visit him on the eve of their conference. Eventually he was freed on November 28 and exempted from military service.

As for Signor Mario Capanna, the Italian extreme left-wing member, he has already drawn attention to himself with a speech in which he addressed the assembly for several minutes—in Latin.

Having made a close scrutiny of the Parliament's rules of procedure, the Italian Radicals tabled several thousand amendments. As passionate supporters of international action against famine Signor Pannella, Bonino and Macciocchi began their campaign by announcing tragic news: 60 million people, including 17 million children, could be dying of starvation each year. They then put forward totally new proposals for the formation of international brigades to combat hunger, working in all countries affected, and the foundation of an organization "of the Amnesty International type".

Using less spectacular methods, the Methodist preacher Mr Francis Griffiths, is another who works for the great international causes. A Labour member born in Africa 35 years ago, he has always taken the keenest interest in international affairs, especially the development of the Third World. He and the Irish MP Mr Richie Ryan are the only MEPs to belong to Amnesty International. However, Mr Ryan's background is rather more conventional: a member of Fine Gael (the party at present in opposition), he has held office as the Irish Minister of Finance, has been a director of the International Monetary Fund and the World Bank and a governor of the European Investment Bank, and he was Amnesty International's special envoy to the Middle East in 1969 and 1970.

This handful of dedicated human rights campaigners shows the better face of Europe, allowing it to give many countries ravaged by dictatorship and torture a demonstration, albeit imperfect, of how freedom works. Moreover, it is there that Europe's strength lies rather than in the wrangling over the extension of the European Parliament's powers.

Laurent Leblond and Serge-Allain Rozenblum

Mario Fasanotti looks at employment

Where jobs are on the increase

From 1971 to 1976, 600,000 jobs have disappeared in Europe. There are, however, some areas where employment has increased, and this is the case of Prato, a textile manufacturing area which has witnessed all the buffeting of the commercial and financial trials and tribulations of these past few years.

In this region, in the heart of Tuscany, employment has increased in these critical years by more than 1,500 jobs. There, on the banks of the river Bisenzio, the economic forecasting wizards have been made to look silly: they had predicted, at the beginning of the 1970s, an inevitable decline in the Italian textile industry, which they considered an industry past its prime, decaying even. Initially, it seemed that events would bear them out. Factories closed, the number of people employed fell, and a "black" working—the ancient remedy for the alternating ups and downs of the trade cycle (a rapid cycle, in the case of the textiles industry)—became increasingly widespread.

As the years went by, Prato, together with another Italian textile manufacturing area, Biella, reversed the situation. It was not those who considered that the products coming from the developing countries would inevitably carry the day. Today, a number of Prato manufacturers are even going to Tokyo, to negotiate direct with the Japanese and other Asian peoples, to whom they illustrate the happy story of their own particular products.

Made in Italy. And by Prato we mean an area about 700 kilometres square, comprising 13 communes and a population of approximately 30,000 people — are concentrated two thirds of the carding spindles in Italy, and a fifth of those all over the world, as well as 55 per cent of the textile firms and units in all the country, and 30 per cent of the people working in the trade.

The secret of this success, which also has its negative aspects, lies in the small size of the individual firms. The average firm in Prato is less than half the national average in size. One out of five Italian textile workers works in Prato, and the rule, which has been followed almost automatically down the years, is decentralized production. There are 10,000 small and very small firms, with 50,000 employees, which means approximately five employees to each local unit.

One point on which trade unions and employers alike are agreed is that this is a unique phenomenon, the result of historical and cultural conditions. Is it a pattern that could be exported? "No," the chairman of the manufacturers in the area, Signor Lamberto Cecchi,

says. "To imitate Prato you would have to construct another Prato, a city where nothing is considered as having been won, where each day you have to invent afresh."

These small firms, which are mostly family concerns, each specialize in a specific process. They all serve the manufacturing complex as a whole, which is organized to sell the product. It is a kind of large human body with certain main functions to other organs. Unless you look at this textile centre in this perspective, you run the risk of not understanding the happiest example in "in-between" Italy; the Italy, that is, that lies between the great industrial concentrations of the North (Milan, Turin, Genoa) and the precarious conditions of the South.

One has to bear in mind human and historical factors. With regard to the former, a recent study has listed a few—a tradition of hard working and a readiness for risk-taking in business on the part of the population (everyone thinks he has a field-marshal's baton in his haversack); a spirit of independence (everyone aspires to become a "boss" in his own small way); a preference for having one's own trade, rather than being impersonally employed; a respect for creative ability, and manual skill.

In this region where the most classic institutional values of the liberal economy proudly survive, the level of entrepreneurial risk is high. This is shown by the continuous pattern of growth and decline, the rapid turnover of old firms failing and new firms being formed. It is the very opposite, in short, of the assisted economy.

EUROPA

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There are other phenomena, less beneficial from the social and human standpoints, which are described by the expression "the fragmentation of the labour market". In other words, side-by-side with the normal market there is the world of pensioners, women working at home, those doing a second job.

These are the results of the so-called decentralization of production, a concept which economists define as "a reduction in the degree of vertical integration of an industry by progressively subdividing the stages in production within and outside the firm". All of this is also facilitated by the fiscal system (value-added tax, they say, is an incentive to vertical disintegration).

Still from the theoretical point of view, it would appear that Prato is a happy "island". From the economic point of view it is, but from the human standpoint it is much less so. Some people even speak of a "mammoth hell". In the words of Signor Ivo Meoni, the trade unionist, one of the secrets of Prato's success is: "Self-exploitation on the part of the working classes, who accept the extension of their working day."

Together with an accentuated aggregation of company life there is a dangerous element of social and family disintegration. Many women call themselves "widows" because they never see their husbands. Wages are high, but it is difficult to have accurate standards for comparison. People do not talk very much, since one does not meet them very often.

Although, on the one hand, those aspects of alienation that are inherent in the way industrial working is organized are less prominent there, there are none the less high social costs in the form of the disorganization of family life, the disruption of schooling, and the threat to individual and collective health (pollution).

A sign of the rejection of this system is coming from the latest generations, although it would be a mistake to say that this was not a phenomenon on a European scale. According to an investigation made by the employers' association, industry in Prato requires an average 20 clerical workers and intermediate grades for every 100 manual workers. What it is now offered is 100 clerical workers for every 10 manual workers.

Business Woman of The Year 1979.

The Times Veuve Clicquot Award.



To Ann Burdus, Chairman of The McCann and Company Group, we extend our warmest congratulations.

She is the winner of the 1979 Times Veuve Clicquot Award.

The lady, who in the eyes of our judges, most clearly embodies the spirit of Veuve Clicquot herself—Madame Clicquot, an enterprising young widow who flouted the prejudices and constraints of the nineteenth century and founded one of the Great Champagne Houses of France.

With nominations from the broadest spectrum of commerce and industry, selection is never easy. And this year's finalists all held professional and personal qualifications of an extremely high order indeed. They were: Anne Miles, Managing Director of Warwick Records—Stephanie Shirley, Chairman and Founder Director of F International—Carmen Callil, Chairman and Managing Director of Virago—Dame Margaret Weston, the Director of the Science Museum.

But after due deliberation our panel decided that Ann Burdus was to be the 1979 Business Woman of the Year.

And looking at her achievements it's not hard to see why.

Ann received her grounding in research and advertising at Mather and Crowther and then progressed quickly to Research Director at Garland Compton.

It was in 1971 that she took up the same position at McCann-Erickson.

The next seven years saw one success after another.

She was one of the team that can rightly claim responsibility for the company's rapid growth between 1971-78 and feels that during this period her major contribution was to the development and scrutiny of advertising strategies.

In 1975 she became Vice-Chairman and was involved in the agency's division into three separate companies.

And before her appointment to Chairman in 1977 Ann worked at the International Headquarters in New York and was on the four man executive committee responsible for the organisation's nine agencies in the U.S.A.

Her pace never slackens. Since Ann's return to London she's resumed her position on the Council of the Institute of Practitioners in Advertising, has been advising the World Health Organisation on advertising and control systems and is also one of the five advisers now examining the marketing of British agricultural products for the Minister of Agriculture.

It is with confidence in her continuing success that we ask you to join us in wishing her well.

If you know someone who you think could be the Business Woman of the year 1980, please contact Kerry Falcon, The Times, New Printing House Square, Grays Inn Road, London WC1X 8EZ for further details.



Community states have divergent views on working hours



The last meeting of ministers of labour and social security in Brussels did nothing for the hopes of the European trade union movement; the attempt to involve the Community in the unions' campaign for shorter working hours is unlikely to succeed in the foreseeable future.

For some years the European Trade Union Confederation (ETUC) has been pressing for its proposals on working hours to be accepted as an urgent item of EEC policy. But

very little has come of this which can be described as a success in terms of its policy aims. On the contrary, in its decision on adjustment of working

hours the Council of Ministers said nothing which can be of any real comfort or assistance to the unions. Member state governments are not aiming at a set of blanket regulations for the EEC, but at the most are prepared to sanction a certain degree of Community alignment in the approach to the problems in question.

The ETUC contends that the ministers attending the Council meeting were too partial in their support for the employers' interests. It would be truer to say, however, that

in view of the divergent economic and social systems prevailing in the EEC no common denominator was possible.

Conflicting views are not only found between the two sides of industry. There is just as much disagreement in the EEC between one member state and another on the extent to which a fairer sharing of the work available might help to solve the problems of employment.

Whereas Belgium and the Latin countries are inclined to include shorter working hours

among Community strategies for bringing about a return to full employment, other member states openly shrink from any such idea. They are afraid that accelerated measures in this area would only make it harder than it is already to change the economic structure, and would in practice frustrate the creation of new jobs. They are certainly not willing to be brought to a united view by anything that Brussels may decide on its own. There is the further point that direct intervention as regards the labour market is in some EEC countries politically out of the question and also proscribed by law.

In West Germany, for instance, the Government is not only keeping out of the wages arena on principle, but also leaves agreements on working hours to be settled through the machinery of collective bargaining. On the other hand the Belgian Government recently came out loud and clear in favour of a gradual reduction in the working week provided that the trade unions are prepared to accept in return corresponding reductions in wages and salaries.

The important thing for the trade unions is that the introduction of shorter working hours as a deliberate feature of employment policy would also open the way to greater social progress. For the employers the main issue is the higher operating costs and the impairment of their competitive position in world markets which would result.

The EEC Commission has, although somewhat cautiously, pronounced in favour of a policy of work-sharing. Its chief concern is to channel the heated discussion going on in member states in such a way that it can lead to greater convergence in national economic policies.

Brussels estimates that the labour force potential in the Europe of the Nine will most probably have risen by 1985 by 300,000 to 350,000. However great the efforts to boost economic growth, they are unlikely, in the Commission's view, to be enough to cause any appreciable decline in the current rate of unemployment.

The Commission has therefore, gone part of the way at least towards accepting the demands of the employees' representatives. It is advocating an EEC skeleton agreement of a kind which will assimilate the prerequisite conditions for ensuring that employers remain competitive and at the same time give the Community a more social face.

In its draft proposals for the Council's decision the Commission indicated that it was expecting "through the introduction of short-term measures for the restructuring of working hours to contribute towards an improvement in the employment situation and better working conditions". It also urged that this policy should be incorporated in a Community framework.

At the same time the EEC authorities believe that the costs of work sharing would need to be "fairly distributed among the parties concerned". Mobility of labour and capital investment and restructuring of industry must not be allowed to be adversely affected as a consequence of work-sharing.

But the Council of Ministers did not concur with the tenor of these proposals. While accepting that measures for the adjustment of working hours could serve as support measures for improving the employment situation, the Council equally emphasized that a variety of factors needed to be taken into account in evaluating such measures. The Commission had requested that governments should examine with both sides of industry appropriate conditions for the shortening of annual working hours, but the decision ultimately taken falls far short of this. It mentions in this connection only "Community viewpoints which could be taken into account as occasion arises in branch or sectoral agreements in individual member states".

The tortuous language in which the Council's document is written is a clear indication that an EEC general agreement on matters of trade and economic policy is still less difficult to achieve than on subjects of an inflammatory social nature. The EEC's separate system consisting of government, employers and trade unions is hardly likely to make much progress in view of the lack of decision in its councils.

It is by no means improbable that a number of national unions in EEC countries will now go back to skulking in their corner of the ring. The ETUC has announced its determination to pursue the campaign for shorter working hours at Community level; but its prospects of winning over the Community to act as a spearhead for the realization of national demands are far from bright.

Steelworkers in northern France. The attempt to involve the EEC in the European trade union movement for shorter working hours seems unlikely to have any immediate success.

The BBC started these broadcasts in foreign languages at the request of the Government and their purpose was "to state the truth with as much exactitude and sincerity as it is given to human beings to achieve; to elucidate objectively the world situation and the thoughts and actions of this country; and to build a closer understanding between peoples by providing interest, information, and entertainment each in due measure according to the needs of the many audiences".

It would probably be difficult to express better not only what the BBC has attempted to do over the years, but also what should be the objective of external broadcasting. As far as the BBC is concerned, the beginning of these vernacular languages in 1938 was rapidly followed by others as the war progressed and also as governments-in-exile were formed.

It should not be forgotten that although the British Government prescribes the languages and hours of broadcasting, as well as financing the External Services, the programme content is entirely a BBC responsibility, although, of course the programmes must be planned in the public interest. The objectivity of the BBC during the war, the decision to tell the truth, however unpalatable, are well known to listeners of that era.

But after the war, the External Services still had an important part to play, explaining the actions of Government, presenting the reaction of the opposition to Government policies (as was the case particularly during the Suez crisis), backing the national drive and encouraging the

Wilhelm Hadler

Sound balance of information and propaganda

A broadcasting service which was inaugurated to keep the Empire informed, and which the Second World War transformed into a foreign-language service, still has an important role, Alain Evans, Senior Producer, BBC French Language Service, writes

Last November, the British Foreign Office announced that because of the financial limits imposed on it by the Government, it had decided to cut its BBC overseas services to France, Italy, Greece, Spain, Turkey, Burma and Malta, saving £2.7m, some 6 per cent of the total budget of the BBC External Services.

The decision was condemned by most of the British press as well as a large number of members of Parliament, and in fact the Government reversed its decision and cut capital expenditure in External Broadcasting instead of vernacular services. But the whole episode raised many questions. What, in fact, is the purpose of external broadcasting beyond the frontiers of a country, as opposed to domestic broadcasting?

Perhaps the history of external broadcasting in Britain will present one aspect of the advantages of such broadcasting. It was in 1932 that the BBC's English-speaking Empire Service was inaugurated and its purpose at the time was simply to broadcast to British expatriates to keep them informed of home and international news and also to entertain them in their own language.

Any influence the broadcasts might have had on other English-speaking listeners was incidental. The Munich Pact in 1938 and Adolf Hitler and Neville Chamberlain, the British Prime Minister, and the imminent war convinced the Foreign Office that broadcasting overseas could help in other ways, and in January 1938 the first foreign language service began in Arabic, followed in March and September by other languages: the German, Italian and French language services began on September 27, 1938.

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But after the war, the External Services still had an important part to play, explaining the actions of Government, presenting the reaction of the opposition to Government policies (as was the case particularly during the Suez crisis), backing the national drive and encouraging the

greater use of the English language. Of course, the BBC is only one of very many broadcasting organizations across the world and the accompanying table shows some of the leading external broadcasters today.

But to return to the original questions: is external broadcasting organized for purposes of propaganda or for purposes of information? Naturally the dividing line is sometimes fairly narrow. It must be noted that in most countries broadcasting overseas the organizations charged with this function are controlled by the Government, editorially as well as financially.

But even when there is no active supervision, the national interest has to be born in mind. Naturally, no government likes being criticized, particularly by a body which it finances. On the other hand, the output must be credible. If you are selling a product, the consumer must be induced to buy it. And if you are broadcasting, no one can be obliged to listen overseas unless the programmes are such as to provide interest.

The only people who will listen to blatant propaganda are those who already believe in what is being expounded. On the other hand, if the programmes being broadcast are presented in an objective way, giving all sides of a question, then the listener is more likely to listen regularly.

It is self-evident that in those countries that do not have a free press, or that cannot afford complete press and broadcasting facilities, broadcasting in the foreign language is the only way to achieve a fair more than any amount of propaganda.

But the next question is far more complex. Granted that certain countries of the world need such a service are foreign broadcasts really necessary when beamed to countries of Western Europe, for instance, where everyone is free to read any newspaper, to listen to any broadcasts and where information is freely available? That is the question that was put in Britain in August, 1977, in the report on external broadcasting written by the Central Policy Review Staff (the "Think Tank").

Such a question assumes first of all that the press and radio in Western Europe are completely unfettered, which is perhaps not always the case. It assumes also that the press will carry all relevant international news. In fact, with a few notable exceptions, this is not the case. It is not for reasons of censorship but for reasons of space and quality of readership. Most popular newspaper readers are unlikely to be thrilled by long articles on the EEC budget.

Furthermore, not everyone has access to foreign newspapers, or has the linguistic ability to listen to overseas broadcasts in the native language. However, if you have the possibility of listening to overseas broadcasts presented in your own language, you can find out what Britain thinks of EEC policies, what Germany is doing to fight inflation, what France's nuclear policy consists of. And at a time when Europe is coming closer together but has still many problems to solve among the different countries, then surely broadcasting organizations that can "elucidate objectively the situation" should be able to achieve a closer understanding between peoples.

The major external broadcasting organizations of the world

	Total programme hours per week		Number of languages	
	June 1979	Dec 1968	June 1979	Dec 1968
Soviet Union	2,010	1,908	85	82
United States	1,836	2,006	45	52
China	1,400	1,180	46	38
West Germany	791	721	39	33
BBC	712	725	39	39
Egypt	542	599	30	35

Figures for United States include broadcasts by Voice of America, Radio Free Europe and Radio Liberty. Figures for West Germany include broadcasts by Deutsche Welle and Deutschlandfunk.

Tuscany: Back to the roots of man



What do you expect from a holiday in Tuscany? Probably the emotion of admiring at close hand those precious testimonies of universal art which you so often come across. But is this enough for you? Then here is another Tuscany that will make your holidays an unforgettable experience. Miles of soft, hot, sandy beaches, cliffs for diving, famous seaside resorts for making friends and secluded vine groves for relaxing. And also the charm of the mountains, with their under your feet, where, on about 60 miles of 10,000 ft, you will discover a whole new Tuscany. And if you are thinking of a holiday for your health too, here you will find 25 spas, amongst the famous in Europe, whose ancient healthy waters will offer you a pleasant restful pause. In short, sea, country, mountains, art, food, craftsmanship, all gathered in one spot, to help you discover "man's roots". Is this enough for you?

There is Tuscany, Tuscany and Tuscany

TUSCAN REGIONAL GOVERNMENT

For information
Italian State Tourist
Office (I.S.T.O.)
291 Regent Street
London W1R 8AY
Tel. 439 2311

On the contrary

Phèdre après Dublin

Mon mal vient de plus loin. A peine par les traités
De Paris et de Rome je m'étais engagée,
Mon repos, mon bonheur semblait être affermi;
Dublin me montra mon superbe ennemi:
Un système agricole par trop dépensier
Qui nie la justice sur le plan financier.
Je le vis, je rougis, je pâlis à sa vue;
Un trouble s'éleva dans mon âme éperdue;
Mes yeux ne voyaient plus, mais je pouvais parler;
Je sentis mes collègues et transir et bailler.
Je reconnus Giscard et ses feux redoutables,

Et de Schmidt, réveillé, la patience ébranlable.
Par des sourdes menaces je crus les détourner:
Je leur fis la leçon, et pris soin de l'orner.
Vaines précautions! Cruelle destinée!
Je recherchais en vain la plus faible pitié.
Il me manque un milliard; et mes cris éternels
N'arrachèrent rien sauf des vœux fraternels.
Soumise pour l'instant, je cache mes ennuis,
Et du prochain sommet je vais cueillir les fruits.
Ce n'est plus une question par des experts cachée,
C'est Vénus toute entière à sa proie attachée.

PANGLOSS



New Printing House Square, London, WC1X 8EZ. Telephone: 01-837 1234

MRS GANDHI SWEEPS BACK

Writing just before the imposition of the Indian emergency in 1975, an American academic psephologist described elections in India as a kind of national festival or *tamasha*, a source of entertainment, education and excitement for countless millions of people. One may wonder which of these attractions have been uppermost in India's seventh general election. In some form education certainly. When a miserably poor, illiterate peasant is faced by half a dozen or more competing candidates, the thought that he can go into a polling booth to choose one is a tiny gesture of self-assertion that gains meaning over time.

Numbers can tell. It happened in 1977. Now it has happened again. In which case the swing in Mrs Gandhi's favour against all predictions must be seen now, as in 1977, as an expression of mass feeling. Negative possibly, as in the rejection of emergency rule in 1977, and now no less in turning against the dithering ineffectiveness of the Janata coalition. But not only negative. In an election that gave the electorate no choice but between personalities a majority have found in Mrs Gandhi's favour as the only one that counts.

Observing Janata's failure, Mrs Gandhi decided that the best self-confidence in presenting herself as a national leader could best win the day—and it has done so handsomely. Against her was Mr Charan Singh, who is unknown in the south, and not that well known in the north either, outside his own home state, Uttar Pradesh. By now Mr Charan Singh must also have lost his appeal, seemingly more a Delhi-based opportunist, and certainly no longer a sufficiently credible spokesman of Harijan aspirations to carry national weight.

By contrast to these two rivals Mrs Gandhi campaigned all over the country. She is not identified with the Hindi-speaking political domination of the north over the south. She has done more than Mr Ram to earn the Harijan vote. Moreover in a country becoming increasingly politicized it may be noted that she is as much an agnostic and secular figure in the Hindu context as

her father was. In an era of rising Muslim political passion elsewhere she is impervious to doctrinal political pressures. Not least, to an electorate despairing of corruption among so many of its political leaders Mrs Gandhi appears as less tarnished than the others.

Given these advantages Mrs Gandhi has won back the world's largest floating vote—the electorate this time was 40 million more than in 1977, though whether excitement or entertainment brought any more to the polls than usual is still to be revealed. Reports of apathy among voters could also be true, despite the considerable majority Mrs Gandhi has collected. So it must be assumed that most of the electorate had forgotten the crimes of the emergency and remembered only such benefits as it brought—these were greater in the countryside than in the towns. It is said that the mass arrests and totally unjust imprisonments have been so quickly forgotten. It is perhaps more surprising that the Indian electorate should forget the compulsory sterilizations, or Sanjay Gandhi's brutal and unlawful clearances. On the other hand Mrs Gandhi may well have won most Harijan votes and regained the Muslim ones she lost in 1977: the Imam of Delhi's largest mosque came out in her support early in the campaign.

Mrs Gandhi's great defeat was wasted by subsequent maladministration. Will her great victory now have any different result? None of Mrs Gandhi's party faithful inspires any more confidence than when in office during the emergency. Her ministers then were both cowardly and oppressive. Her government will be one of her own choosing rather than one of bargaining with others, ready to desert the parties they stood for in the election. That was what the prophets foresaw as a likely result if Congress (I) had no absolute majority. Nor has it been an election with any issues contested between parties. Law and order and economic progress—Mrs Gandhi's slogans—might have served any political

party in India at any time in the past.

Some might therefore see the result of this election as taking India back to the days before the emergency. Obviously Mrs Gandhi will now rebuild the Congress Party after her own fashion. But she did that after an equally outright victory in 1971 and it broke up to the point where she decided to impose the emergency. This time it is not easy to foresee what change may follow from India's indisputable choice of a leader.

Fortunately for India in the last few years favourable rainfall has brought good harvests and good harvests have promoted economic advance—until last year, which was a year of decline. Can Mrs Gandhi arrest that or does the evidence point to the rise or fall in the Indian economy having little to do with the central government in Delhi? One answer may be that Mrs Gandhi herself is much less wedded to the "socialist" pattern of society which Congress declared its devotion in the sixties. The more political power becomes an issue the more ideology withers by the roadside. And no one believes that ideology of any kind can bring salvation to India; witness the steady decline over the past twenty years of all the left-wing parties. Nothing could be more conservative than India's two communist parties, neither of which has had any fresh ideas to offer.

Such conclusions leave many questions unanswered. One is how far Mrs Gandhi has learnt the lessons of her rejection in 1977 and will curb her authoritarian tendencies. Another is the Russian presence in Afghanistan. In her public statements Mrs Gandhi has shown a leaning towards the Soviet Union ever since the fifties. Already her comment on the Soviet action has been muted while her fear of a rearmist Pakistan has been promptly and unhesitatingly exposed. Her record in office, however, has shown more caution towards Moscow than some of her sharp comments on western policy would suggest. The size of her electoral victory will not have reduced that caution.

Christians and power politics

From Canon G. B. Bentley

Sir, Much as I dislike taking issue with Cardinal Hume, I am bound to say that his article in *The Times* of January 3 would have been better for an infusion of Realpolitik. It is not very helpful to address Christians as if they could control the course of this world by adhering to the precepts of the Gospel or to suggest that it is in their power to choose effectually between armaments and the worldwide relief of hunger and poverty. The Gospel itself does not promise them any such influence upon the actions of states, nor do they in fact exercise it.

Would it be right, in any case, to try to persuade a government to neglect the defence of the people committed to its care in order to divert resources to the relief of need elsewhere? I think not. The prime function of a state in this fallen world is to establish a sufficient measure of law and order, national and international, to allow people to live their lives with some sense of security and, though we may deplore the fact, the only means of restraining international delinquency that we have so far discovered is maintaining a balance of power between nations—or groups of nations—and hence conflicting aims. Making its due contribution to that balance must therefore rank high among a state's priorities.

Today a balance of power means, unhappily, a balance of nuclear capabilities, with all its attendant dangers. This is not the place to discuss the moral questions which Cardinal Hume raises in that connection. I will only say that they were extensively canvassed in two Christian reports published after the last war: *The Era of Atomic Power* (1946), by a commission of the British Council of Churches, and *The Church and the Atom* (1948), by an Archbishop's commission of which I was myself the scribe.

As far as I can see, the main conclusions of the commissioners still hold good. Despite the frequent abuses to which it has been subjected, the doctrine of "necessity" yet retains a legitimate place in the moral theology of warfare and it is possible to conceive circumstances in which it would justify the use of nuclear weapons; and since the renunciation of such weapons would, in any conflict with a power ready to use them, render our own weapons useless, states that renounced them would be falling in its duty to the people it was bound to defend.

At the present time, when Russia, having achieved superiority on its western flank, is apparently taking over the *Dominion of the East*, and when those of us who remember the late thirties have an uncomfortable feeling of *déjà vu*, I should have thought it was the duty of Christians to face the realities of the situation themselves and to encourage others to do likewise, even if that should entail abandoning utopian dreams and the national sport of demanding money with menaces.

Of course we should do our utmost to relieve hunger and poverty, and we should do much more than we are doing in that regard; but I cannot believe that, in the world as it is, the oft-repeated call to choose between defence and charity makes any kind of sense.

Yours faithfully,
G. B. BENTLEY,
8 The Cloisters, Windsor Castle.

Towards Christian unity

From Dr J. L. Lambert

Sir, Mr Elliot Hodgson (December 29) writes of a Galloping Reunion of Christendom would reveal. I am reminded of a story told me by the beloved Anglican priest, Colin Stephenson, who ran the Shrine of Our Lady at Walsingham. After the local Salvation Army band had assisted at a procession carrying the image of the Virgin solemnly round the village, he warmly thanked the officer in charge and was told: "It is not our way of religion, but we were delighted to help. I don't myself think much of these reunion schemes. We each have our own little plot of garden which we cultivate in our own special way to the glory of God. We often chat over the fences in between, and borrow each other's seeds, but we are sure that the point of pulling these all down, and turning them into a dreary municipal park with an elegant public convenience at the centre?"

I doubt if I will ever get to heaven, but I am sure that there will be a Salvation Army band playing just inside to welcome the weary pilgrims up the hill, and I think both Pope John Paul and Dr Hans Küng will not be far away.

Yours sincerely,
JAMES LAMBERT,
Trinity College, Oxford.

Race in the 1981 Census

From Mr Suhail Aziz

Sir, Mr Mark Bonham Carter (January 3) has hit the nail. He is absolutely right. The uncertainty and anxiety about the ethnic minorities and the Census being the major source of demographic information; the planning, development and assignment of correct policies in the field of race relations, to deal with various problems, need facts.

To my mind, we have still some time available before the Census takes place in 1981 and if the Government decided to give positive leadership to allay their fears in this connection, namely, reassuring in a very firm and positive way the ethnic communities that they have nothing to fear from participating in the Census fully, then I think we would have diminished the sense of insecurity and uncertainty that these communities are suffering from.

Yours faithfully,
JOHN TOOLEY,
General Administrator,
Royal Opera House,
Covent Garden, WC2.
January 2.

LETTERS TO THE EDITOR

The Soviet invasion of Afghanistan

From the President of the Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers

Sir, Like you (leader of January 7), I wish to condemn the Soviet military invasion of Afghanistan and to applaud President Carter's decision to veto a \$17 million grain delivery to the Soviet Union. Carter's measures, which the Western and non-aligned worlds cannot but give strong support, are clearly designed to bring home to the Soviet Union that détente is indivisible and must be based on reciprocity, restraint and respect for sovereignty and international law.

In this connection, may I point out that the Soviet flagrant aggression is contrary to the spirit of détente which the Trades Union Council has followed in its relations with the Soviet trade unions in recent years. Double standards in our attitudes to international questions must come to an end.

All free trade union organizations in the West and in the Third World should call upon the Soviet trade union movement, which has consistently maintained the international Labour Organization that it is independent of the Soviet Government, to disassociate itself from this act of imperialist aggression. The Red Army must leave Afghanistan at once and let the people of that country decide their future for themselves.

If the Soviet trade union movement fails to condemn the Soviet action, then the TUC must reconsider its present policy of having fraternal exchanges with them. After the armies of the Warsaw Pact countries occupied Czechoslovakia in 1968 the TUC took a forthright stand against the communist bloc for its unprovoked attack. We cannot do less in this case. The Soviet trade unions must be left in no doubt about our disgust with their Government's unprovoked attack on a sovereign country.

Yours faithfully,
TERRY DUFFY,
President,
Amalgamated Union of Engineering Workers,
110 Peckham Road, SE15,
January 7.

From Mr Arthur Latham
Sir, I am as opposed to Russian troops being in Afghanistan as I am to the presence of foreign soldiers in any part of the world.

However, some aspects of the

present furore in the West puzzle me. What precise special British or American interest is in jeopardy? Would we in principle deplore the replacement of a communist regime by a non-communist one, just as we oppose the substitution of a less illiberal pro-Russian rule?

Can the United States of Nixon and Vietnam really seethe with righteous indignation? How many US-backed dictators have replaced other US-backed dictators in, for example, South Korea? Are the British (of Suez, as recently as 1956) in any better position? How many despots have stayed or stay in power only by virtue of the presence of the British Army in the Gulf, for example?

Finally, whatever happened to the idea of "legitimate areas of interest"? What reaction do we believe would be justified from the USSR if American forces moved into Mexico or Panama? And is not Afghanistan much closer to Russia than Cuba is to the USA?

Those who want to say that these comments imply tacit approval of the Russian involvement in Afghanistan will do so, but they will be wrong. What I am challenging is the cant of those who are no less guilty in other contexts.

Yours truly,
ARTHUR LATHAM,
17 Tudor Avenue,
Romford,
Essex.
January 3.

From Lieutenant Colonel D. A. Jones

Sir, At dinner on New Year's Eve, as I sat in front of my Battalion's Colours here in Osnabrück, my eye chanced to fall on the Battle Honour "Afghanistan 1879-80" borne on the Regimental Colour. In July my Regiment will be recalling the anniversary of the Battle of Maiwand when so many of our predecessors died at the hands of the Afghans. I wonder whether it will happen that one day the Russians will come to regret the invasion of the country of that proud and warlike people.

Yours faithfully,
DAVID JONES,
Commanding Officer,
1st Battalion,
The Duke of Edinburgh's Royal Regiment (Berkshire and Wiltshire),
British Forces Post Office 36,
January 2.

Boycotting the Moscow Olympics

From Mr Alan S. Green

Sir, Given Russia's attitude to human rights, with countless thousands in labour camps, it was intolerable to many of us that we should contemplate joining in the playing of chess-automated games and flag waving in the Olympics in Moscow. Given further proof of Russia's intentions with the rape of Afghanistan, it must be plain to even the politically naïve that it is impossible for anyone to contemplate going to the Moscow Olympics.

Revolution, as Iran proves, comes from within. We must bring home to the Russian people how loathed their Government's aims and ideas are in the free world. The lesson of the 1936 Berlin Olympics was that to take part was to allow the host nation to use in about eight months. But also in Montreal is Mayor Drapeau, the dynamo behind Expo 67 and the 1976 Olympics. I am sure he would not only accept the challenge but would delight in it.

To hold the Olympics twice in succession in one city would be unprecedented but would not create a precedent. For it is equally unprecedented for a nation to embark on naked aggression only months before the Olympic Games, which is supposed to epitomise the sporting ideals of the world—even the slightly tarnished ideals of today.

Let the Games be moved to Montreal. No other single gesture will prove so conclusively to Russia the world's condemnation.

There is not a day to lose!

Yours faithfully,
ROBERT MITCHELL,
Hatchwood House,
Sunser Avenue,
Woodford Green,
Essex.
January 7.

Future of motor industry

From Mr D. E. Rodrigues

Sir, I was most interested to read Sir Michael Edwards's letter today and, as one of the recent purchasers of a "exotic" foreign car, working in a senior capacity within the British industry, I could not resist the temptation to reply.

Sir Michael, in his pardonable zeal to protect his company, falls into a trap that those of us in industry occasionally fall into ourselves, namely, of confusing a buyer's sentiments with his practical requirements.

As a recent owner of a product from Sir Michael's company, I can tell him through you why I am now unable to continue to be in this position and have elected to do the unpatriotic thing which I am still extremely sad to have done.

I purchased a Rover 3500 and it was delivered to me in October 1977. When I finally got rid of it in November 1979, after having done some 77,000 miles, I had suffered the following "un-exotic" inconveniences:

1. From the moment the car was delivered, the sunshine roof leaked. The amount of water coming in varied, but it always landed on the driver or the passenger's knees usually in a fairly heavy way.
2. From the moment the car was delivered, the automatic locking device failed to work consistently, (originally the lock on one door had been fitted upside-down but this was corrected). The locking device in regard to the boot never worked at all.
3. The Dunlop Denova tyres fitted to the car at the recommendation of the distributor needed replace-

ment every 8,000 miles so that, by the time we had finished with the car, we were into the fourth set of tyres. Nobody told us that these wonder tyres were incapable of taking a car at cruising speeds in excess of 50/60 miles an hour until we were through the first set.

4. Two petrol tanks required replacement after spills appeared. In one case, petrol was dripping from the tank on to the exhaust pipe—a somewhat hazardous situation to find myself in.

5. The system completely over-heated on three different occasions, resulting once in the AA refusing to allow us to drive home and other times in journeys punctuated by stops at alternate garages for cooling draughts to be administered.

6. An interesting fault on the oil pressure system which did not actually affect the oil pressure itself but triggered off the warning light which apparently then triggered off a safety device which cut off the petrol supply leaving us on three occasions stranded late at night with a large car unable to move an inch.

These are some of the reasons why I reluctantly transferred to a foreign car of a much smaller size and considerably less "exotic" than the Rover 3500.

By the way, in case you feel that I was in fact not giving British Leyland a chance to look at the car, we wrote to Sir Michael and to date received only one reply and absolutely nothing further.

I remain, dear Sir, yours faithfully,
D. E. RODRIGUES,
Managing Director,
Caxton Publications Limited,
72-90 Worslip Street, EC2,
January 2.

Police deaf to criticisms

From Inspector Graham Marsden

Sir, We seem to be approaching a position wherein no one can speak about the police, except in the most glowing terms, without being accused of lese-majesty. Even caring friends are alleged to be part of an "orchestrated" campaign to defame a blameless service.

Criticisms are seldom answered except by accusing the critic of ill-intent. Although it is difficult to take panoplies seriously, it is worrying when they hold powerful offices.

One hundred and twenty thousand police officers police the 56 million or so inhabitants of this country by their consent and with the good will of most. The risk is that the good will could be dissipated by constant exposure to the shrill rejection of all criticism even when clearly based on sincere concern.

If the police are to have a voice in the debate about their own future that voice must be better informed and more evenly modulated than it is at present.

Yours sincerely,
GRAHAM MARSDEN, Police Inspector,
421 Derby Road,
Nottingham,
December 30.

Bridge over the Kwae

From Mr J. D. C. Noble

Sir, As an ex-Far East prisoner of war, I would like to reply to Mr Budden's letter of today (January 2) indicating his disappointment on his visit to the River Kwae that there was no memorial on the site to commemorate the construction of "the historic bridge".

With the passing of time, the admirable film *The Bridge over the River Kwae*, much of which is fiction, has, with respect, taken over from reality. To be pedantic, there never was in fact a River Kwae as in Siamese the word Kwae means branch and therefore the bridge was built over a tributary or branch of the River Maeklong. It was destroyed by Allied bombing towards the end of the War in the East.

A much more important feat of engineering was undertaken by prisoners of war further to the North at Wampo and this combination of valour and bridge building stands out. However, the film producers preferred to place the emphasis on a smaller construction, which was completed early on during the building of the railway and therefore where casualties were relatively small. It was further up country, towards the Burma border that, owing to the Japanese inhumanity, so many of our countrymen lost their lives during the "speede" to finish the railway. The War Graves Commission brought many back to the Chungkai and Kanchanaburi Cemeteries for decent burial.

In other words, it was the film that has to a large extent produced the mystery of "the historic" bridge.

For those of us who worked on the railway, it is the war cemeteries, beautifully kept, that more than adequately provide the evidence that Mr Budden found lacking, but in my view he was misguided by the fictitious content of an admirable film with all its licence for the sensational.

Yours faithfully,
J. D. C. NOBLE,
25 Portugal Place,
Cambridge.
January 2.

What Danes find dull

From Mrs Mary Whitehouse

Sir, It was with some amazement that I read your report "Pornography bores most Danes" (December 18).

Lending a single reference to substantial evidence, your correspondent insults your readers with a rebash of the highly subjective views of Dr Berl Kutschinsky, the Danish sociologist whose contribution to the American presidential commission report on obscenity and pornography was one of the main reasons for the almost unanimous rejection of the report by Congress—and, hopefully, could have the same effect on the report of the Williams committee who seem to line and sinker.

Yours sincerely,
MARY WHITEHOUSE,
General Secretary,
National Viewers' and Listeners' Association,
Ardleigh, Colchester.

Defining the basis of class

From Sir Anthony Wagner

Sir, In the course of his article on "Why the state must never take over" Mr John Heiler makes a throwaway judgment that class is based on the ownership of the means of production. May I submit the alternative view, that the existence of social classes derives from two consequences of the division of labour: specialization, which produces different types, manners and outlooks; and organization, which leads to hierarchy. Has the abolition of private ownership of the means of production ever diminished class distinctions?

Yours truly,
ANTHONY WAGNER,
Clarenceux King of Arms,
College of Arms,
Queen Victoria Street, EC4.

Bitter lemons

From Mr Charles Gibson

Sir, I am appalled to read that lemons are the first victims of brutality in 1980. The natural habitat of the lemon is a gin and tonic, in which it receives and gives energy. It is reasonably happy in China tea or meringue pie; and it will tolerate smoked salmon. To fill this gentle fruit with wires and to fuel motors on its juice is a disgraceful practice in what is, or ought to be, the year of the Lemon.

Yours faithfully,
CHARLES GIBSON,
Tompson Gibert,
Tompkins, EC4,
January 4.

SPORT ON THE ALTAR OF POLITICS

The decision of the rugby unions to go ahead with the Lions tour of South Africa is much to be regretted. It is difficult to believe that they have given sufficiently serious and responsible consideration to the representations made by a government which could hardly be labelled left-wing or soft. It is also difficult to believe that the rugby unions' decision is entirely unmotivated politically. It amounts to little less than a judgment by rugby enthusiasts on Britain's proper policy towards the politicization of sport, an immensely difficult, complex, and ever-changing subject. If sport is, as Mr Steele-Bodger is reported to have said, a new form of warfare, that is not one which the rugby unions can change by themselves. It is something which others besides sportsmen must try to change, with a rather more intelligent and informed approach than Mr Steele-Bodger and his colleagues appear to have shown. The rugby authorities have set their own narrow interests above what the government has suggested to be a wider interest, and above the losses that may be sustained by many other sports which hope, unlike rugby, to send representatives from the United Kingdom to the Commonwealth Games in Brisbane in 1982, and to Moscow this year. The decision to tour South Africa also considerably reduces the authority of the Sports Council's imminent fact-finding mission on apartheid in sport in that country.

Nevertheless the rugby unions have made their decision. They were perfectly free to do so. The government, for its part, had impressed on them its objections to the tour, and thereby discharged its obligations under the Commonwealth Statement on Apar-

theid in Sport of 1977, the Glen-eagles agreement. The African Supreme Council for Sport will no doubt contend that the phraseology implies that the British government is bound to find ways to prevent the players' departure by bending or changing the laws of the realm. That is certainly how they manage things in Africa. In Britain, happily, individuals are still free not only to oppose governments and cause them embarrassment, even humiliation, but to travel at will on lawful occasions, even if at times at their own risk. A diminution of these liberties in the free world of all British people, indeed, in such a case, admits the propriety of African nations requiring us to adopt totalitarian measures of government. That is not so.

The African position is perfectly clear and logical. It places the destruction of the white South African regime at the head of almost all, perhaps all, other priorities. It is unlikely that any changes in the organization of sport towards multi-racialism, unless these were in the context of a complete end to apartheid, would cause the African countries to take a different attitude towards sporting contact with South Africa. Their call for a total sports boycott is part of their policy of putting pressure against South Africa on every possible front, and it is consistent with that policy that they should try to penalize Britain in pursuit of it. It is an equally clear principle that the British Government should resist such pressure, even if the consequences are detrimental to the activities of participants in sports other than rugby. If it is right that the Government, now that persuasion has failed, should play no active part in stopping

the Lions' tour, it is equally right for it not to seek to impose a decision on British participation in the Olympic Games in Moscow. The brutal Russian invasion of Afghanistan has renewed calls for a boycott of the games. It should be up to the athletes and the various sporting bodies involved to decide whether or not to go. No doubt they will be subjected to enough information and pressure from supporters of both sides of the argument to enable them to come to a responsible decision. The games themselves are a travesty of their original objectives. Instead of the emphasis being placed on the struggle between individual sportsmen, as is envisaged in the Olympic Charter, the games have become a forum for national glorification. The ideal of pure amateurism has long since gone, though the hypocrisy exhibited by some countries in claiming that their athletes are not professionals remains. It would be an improvement if the Olympic Games, like Wimbledon, were to be unashamedly open to all athletes.

Nevertheless there is an argument, which should not be ignored, that in spite of the political overtones that have now become the rule rather than the exception, the Olympic Games are still capable of providing a basis for enhanced international understanding, quite apart from providing the opportunity for the world's top athletes to compete against each other, and giving entertainment to the hundreds of millions watching the events on television. Whether or not Moscow can provide the necessary atmosphere of goodwill is another matter, but the sportsmen must be left to be the final arbiters of that. Freedom to go to South Africa means freedom to go to Moscow.

came back to report: "So many sacks of letters have come in that they haven't been able to undo and distribute them."

A few weeks later we held a weekend conference at Edward Hulston's house in London to which a number of the letter writers were invited. B. L. Coombes was there, with other contributors and members of the staff, to take matters a stage further, and from this there were some quite practical results. In the climate of today, such enthusiasm for a project of which one of the participants could expect any immediate advantage, may well seem incredible.

Yours etc.
TOM HOPKINSON,
6 Marine Parade,
Penarth,
South Glamorgan, S.A.
December 31.

Dispute at Covent Garden

From Sir John Tooley

Sir, I am grateful to William Mann (January 2) for drawing attention to the loss of a dress rehearsal for *Traviata* through a ban on Saturday rehearsals by the Royal Opera House Orchestra. The reason for that ban, however, is not overtime pay, but the unwillingness of the musicians to accept the management's current basic pay offer.

An issue of 'Picture Post'

From Sir Tom Hopkinson

Sir, I was impressed by Philip Norman's article (December 29) and by all he had learned about B. L. Coombes, the Welsh miner, then unknown, whose article led the issue of *Picture Post* for New Year 1941.

That issue—"A Plan for Britain"—aroused more interest and produced a bigger correspondence than any in the magazine's history. Discussion of Britain's "War Aims" was generally discouraged by the wartime Government as being continually divisive. However, we were continually receiving letters from men and women in the forces demanding to know just what they were fighting for, and what kind of Britain they could expect after the war.

It was in response to this feeling that we decided for the first issue of January 1941 to draw up as complete a national plan as possible in plenty of strictly rationed pages. Doubling my own knowledge in this field, I asked Julian Huxley to share the editing with me, which he did.

Two days after it went on sale, to being out of London and anxious to know the response, I rang the secretary and asked how many had arrived. There were no post in the editorial offices at all, she said. I asked her to check with the postal department, and in a minute she

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a press conference that it is vital to legislate for energy conservation. They said petrol prices should be doubled or

Moreover, Dr Ebinger said Saudi Arabia might well return to an output of 8.5 million barrels per day from its present

Once the new wage contracts

Hugh Stephenson

A slow-burning fuse in the Companies Bill

Business Diary: Outside edge • BL and buying British

"We're leaving the hall. The gardener's agreed to sell me his council house for £50 more than it cost him."

Fares could rise sharply, but with little benefit to profits

Early morning refuelling at Stansted: big economies in the use of fuel are already being made.

Arthur Reed

Hard questions on the EMS

As such, the unit is a long way from being a full reserve asset. Being based on swaps, its existence is precarious. It is

scope for wrangling from March onwards.

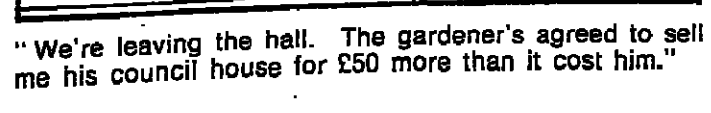
boy plugging the hole in the dam with his finger. As the Minister of State for Trade, he

Ross Davies

ing close. As the second stage will require national legislation in most countries, the decisions

way from being a full reserve asset. Being based on swaps, its existence is precarious. It is

scope for wrangling from March onwards.



Ross Davies

Stock Exchange Prices

Firmer tone

ACCOUNT DAYS : Dealings Began, Dec 28. Dealings End, Jan 11. \$ Contango Day, Jan 14. Settlement Day, Jan 21

§ Forward bargains are permitted on two previous days

هكذا من الأصول

John Foord
plant and machinery valuers

[illegible]

